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AUGUSTINE AND THE PELAGIAN CONTROVERSY.

BY PROFESSOR B. B. WARFIELD, D.D., LL.D.

I.

THE ORIGIN AND NATURE OF PELAGIANISM.

IT was natural that the energy of the Church in intellectually realizing and defining its doctrines in relation to one another, should first be directed towards the objective side of Christian truth. The chief controversies of the first four centuries and the resulting definitions of doctrine, concerned the nature of God and the Person of Christ. It was not until these Theological and Christological questions were well upon their way to final settlement, that the Church could turn its attention to the more subjective side of truth. Meanwhile she bore in her bosom a full recognition. side by side, of the freedom of the will, the evil consequences of the fall, and the necessity of divine grace for salvation. Individual writers, or even entire sections of the Church, might exhibit a special tendency to emphasize one or another of the elements that made up this deposit of faith that was the common inheritance of all. The East, for instance, laid especial stress on free will. The West dwelt more pointedly on the ruin of the human race and the absolute need of God's grace for salvation. But the Eastern theologians did not forget the universal sinfulness and need of redemption, or the necessity, for the realization of that redemption, of God's gracious influences. Nor did those of the West deny the self-determination or accountability of men. All the elements of the composite doctrine of man were everywhere confessed. But they were variously emphasized, according to the temper of the writers or the controversial demands of the times. Such a state of affairs, however, was an invitation to heresy, and a prophecy of controversy; just as the simultaneous confession of the Unity of God and the Deity of Christ, or of the Deity and the Humanity of Christ, inevitably carried in its train a series of heresies and controversies, until the definitions of the doctrines of the Trinity and of the Person of Christ were complete. In like manner, it was inevitable that sooner or later some one should arise who would throw so one-sided a stress upon one element or the other of the Church's teaching as to salvation, as to betray himself into heresy, and drive the Church, through controversy with him, into a more precise definition of the doctrines of tree will and grace in their mutual relations.

This new heresiarch came, at the opening of the fifth century, in the person of the British monk, Pelagius. The novelty of the doctrine which he taught is repeatedly asserted by Augustine, and is evident to the historian. But it consisted less in the emphasis that he laid on free will, than in the fact that, in order to emphasize free will, he denied the ruin of the race and the necessity of grace. This was not only new in Christianity; it was even anti-Christian. Jerome, as well as Augustine, saw this at the time, and spoke of Pelagianism as the "heresy of Pythagoras and Zeno." Modern writers of various schools have more or less fully recognized it. Thus Dean Milman thinks that "the greater part" of Pelagius' letter to Demetrias "might have been written by an ancient academic."

¹ On the Merits and Remission of Sins, iii. 6, 11, 12; Against Two Letters of the Pelagians, iv. 32: Against Julian, i. 4: On Heresies, 88; and often elsewhere. JEROME found roots for the theory in Origen and Rufinus (Letter 133, 3), but this is a different matter: compare Augustine, On Original Sin, 25.

Preface to Book iv. of his work on Jeremiah.

Latin Christianity, i. 166, note 2.

Dr. De Pressensé identifies the Pelagian idea of liberty with that of Paganism. And Bishop Hefele openly declares that the fundamental doctrine of Pelagianism, "that man is virtuous entirely of his own merit, not of the gift of grace," seems to him "to be a rehabilitation of the general heathen view of the world," and compares with it Cicero's words," "For gold, lands, and all the blessings of life, we have to return thanks to the Gods; but no one ever returned thanks to the Gods for virtues." The struggle with Pelagianism was thus in reality a struggle for the very foundations of Christianity. Even more dangerously than in the previous Theological and Christological controversies, here the practical substance of Christianity was in jeopardy. The real question at issue was whether there was any need for Christianity at all; whether by his own power man might not attain eternal felicity; whether the function of Christianity was to save, or only to render an eternity of happiness more easily attainable by man.

Genetically speaking, Pelagianism was the daughter of legalism; but when it itself conceived, it brought forth an essential deism. It is not without significance that its originators were "a certain sort of monks," that is, laymen of ascetic life. From that point of view the Divine law appears as a collection of separate commandments, moral perfection as a mere complex of separate virtues, and a distinct value as a meritorious demand on Divine approbation is ascribed to each good work or attainment in the exercises of piety. It was because this was essentially his point of view that Pelagius could regard man's powers as sufficient to the attainment of sanctity, and could even assert it to be possible for man to do more than is required of him. But this involves an essentially deistic conception of man's relations to his Maker. God has endowed His creature with a capacity (possibilitas) or ability (posse)

¹ Trois Prem. Siècles, ii. 375. 2 De Natura Deorum, iii. 36. 4 History of the Councils of the Church (E. T.), ii. 446, note 3. 4 Compare the excellent statement in Thomasius' Dogmenge-schichte, i. 483.

for action; and it is for him to use it. Man is thus a machine, which, just because it is well made, needs no Divine interference for its right working; and the Creator, having once tramed him and endowed him with the posse, henceforth leaves the velle and the esse to him.

At this point we have touched the central and formative principle of Pelagianism. It lies in the assumption of the plenary ability of man; his ability to do all that righteourness can demand—to work out not only his own salvation, but also his own perfection. This is the core of the whole theory; and all the other postulates not only depend upon it, but arise out of it. Both chronologically and logically this is the root of the system.

When we first hear of Pelagius he is already advanced in years, living in Rome in the odour of sanctity, and in the enjoyment of a well-deserved reputation for zeal in exhorting others to a good life. zeal grew especially warm against those who, when charged with their sins, endeavoured to shelter themselves behind the weakness of nature.' He was outraged by the excuses which were commonly made on such occasions, -" It is hard!" "It is difficult!" "We are not able!" "We are men!" "O blind madness!" he cried: "we accuse God of a twofold ignorance,—that He does not seem to know what He has made, nor what He has commanded,—as it forgetting the human weakness of which He is Himself the author, He has imposed laws on man which he cannot endure." He himself tells us' that it was his custom, therefore, whenever he had to speak on moral improvement and the conduct of a holy life, to begin by pointing out the power and quality of human nature, and by showing what it is capable of accomplishing. For (he says) he esteemed it of little use to exhort men to do what they deem impossible: hope

¹ On the Proceedings of Pelagius, 46; On the Merits and Remission of Sins, iii. 1; Epistle 186, etc.
2 On Nature and Grace, 1.
2 Epistle to Demetrias, 16.

⁴ Do. 2 and 19.

must rather be our companion, and all longing and effort die when we despair of attaining. So exceedingly ardent an advocate was he of man's unaided ability to do all that God commanded, that when there was repeated in his hearing Augustine's noble and entirely scriptural prayer—"Give what Thou commandest, and command what Thou wilt"-he was unable to endure it. With such violence did he contradict it that he almost became embroiled in a quarrel. The powers of man were gifts of God; and it was, therefore (he held), a reproach against God, as if He had made man ill or evil, to believe that they were insufficient for the keeping of His law. Nay, do what we will, we cannot rid ourselves of their sufficiency: "whether we will, or whether we will not, we have the capacity of not sinning." "I say," he says, "that man is able to be without sin, and that he is able to keep the commandments of God." This sufficiently direct statement of human ability is in reality the hinge of his whole system.

There were three specially important corollaries which flowed from so unmeasured an assertion of human ability, and Augustine himself recognized these as the chief elements of the Pelagian system. would be inexplicable on such an assumption, it no man had ever used his ability in keeping God's law; and Pelagius therefore consistently asserted not only that all might be sinless if they chose, but also that many saints, even before Christ, had actually lived free from Again, it would follow from man's inalienable ability to be free from sin, that each man comes into the world without entailment of sin or moral weakness from the past acts of men; and Pelagius consistently denied the whole doctrine of original sin. And still again, it would follow from the assumption of so perfect a natural ability, that man has no need of supernatural assistance in his striving to obey righteousness; and Pelagius consistently denied both the need

On the Gift of Perseverance, 53. On Nature and Grace, 49.
On the Gift of Perseverance, 4; Against Two Letters of the Pelagians, iii. 24; iv. 2 sq.

and the reality of divine grace in the sense of an inward help (and especially of a prevenient help) to man's

weakness.

It was upon this last point that the greatest stress was laid in the controversy. Augustine was most of all disturbed that God's grace was denied and opposed. No doubt the Pelagians spoke constantly of "grace." But they meant by "grace" the primal endowment of man with free will, and the subsequent aid given him in order to its proper use by the revelation of the law and the teaching of the gospel, and, above all, by the forgiveness of past sins in Christ and by Christ's holy example. Anything beyond this external help they utterly denied. And they denied that this external help itself was absolutely necessary, affirming that it only rendered it easier for man to do what otherwise he had plenary ability for doing. Chronologically, this contention seems to have preceded the assertion which must logically lie at its base—of the freedom of man from any taint, corruption, or weakness due to It was in order that they might deny that man needed help, that they denied that Adam's sin had any further effect on his posterity than might arise from his bad example. "Before the action of his own proper will," said Pelagius roundly, "that only is in man which God made." "As we are procreated without virtue," he said, "so also without vice." In a word, "nothing that is good or evil, on account of which we are either praiseworthy or blameworthy, is born with us, -it is rather done by us; for we are born with capacity for either, but provided with neither." * So his follower, Julian, plainly asserts his "faith that God creates men obnoxious to no sin, but full of natural innocence, and with capacity for voluntary virtues." So intrenched is free will in nature, that, ac-

¹ On the Spirit and Letter, 4; On Nature and Grace, 53; On the On the spirit and Letter, 4; On that Grace of Christ, 2, 3, 8, 1, 42, 45; Against Two Letters of the Pelagians, iv. 11; On Grace and Free Will, 23-26, and often.

On Original Sin, 14.

The Unfinished Work, iii. 82.

cording to Julian, it is "just as complete after sins as it was before sins;" and what this means may be gathered from Pelagius' definition in the Confession of Faith that he sent to Innocent: "We say that man is always able both to sin and not to sin, so that we

may confess that we have tree will."

That sin in such circumstances was so common as to be well-nigh universal, was accounted for by the bad example of Adam and the power of habit, the latter being conceived as simply the result of imitation of the "Nothing makes well-doing so hard," writes Pelagius to Demetrias, "as the long custom of sins which begins from childhood and gradually brings us more and more under its power until it seems to have in some degree the force of nature (vim natura)." He is even ready to allow for the force of habit in a broad way, on the world at large; and so divides all history into progressive periods, marked by God's (external) grace. At first the light of nature was so strong that men by it alone could live in holiness. And it was only when men's manners became corrupt and tarnished nature began to be insufficient for holy living, that by God's grace the law was given as an addition to mere nature; and by it "the original lustre was restored to nature after its blush had been impaired." And so again, after the habit of sinning once more prevailed among men, and "the law became unequal to the task of curing it," Christ was given, furnishing men with torgiveness of sins, exhortations to imitation of His example and the holy example itself.' Thus a progressive deterioration was contessed, and such a deterioration as rendered desirable at least two supernatural interpositions—in the giving of the law and the coming of Christ. Yet no corruption of nature, even by growing habit, was really allowed. It was only an ever-increasing facility in imitating vice which arose from so long a schooling in evil. And all that was

¹ Do. i. 91; compare do. i. 48, 60; ii. 20. "There is nothing of sin in man, if there is nothing of his own will." "There is no original sin in infants at all."

¹ On Original Sin, 30.

On the Grace of Christ, 43.

needed to rescue men from it was a new explanation of what was right (in the law), or, at the most, the encouragement of forgiveness for what was already done, and a holy example (in Christ) for imitation. Pelagius still asserted our continuous possession of "a free will which is unimpaired for sinning and for not sinning; and Julian, that " our free will is just as full after sins as it was before sins"-although Augustine does not

tail to twit him with a charge of inconsistency.'

The peculiar individualism of the Pelagian view of the world comes out strongly in their failure to perceive the effect of habit on nature itself. Just as they conceived of virtue as an agglomeration of virtuous acts, so they conceived of sin exclusively as an act, or mass of disconnected acts. They appear not to have risen above the essentially heathen view which had no notion of holiness except as a series of acts of holiness, or of sin except as a like series of sinful acts.' Thus the will was isolated from its acts, and the acts from each other, and all organic connection or continuity of life was not only overlooked but denied." After each act of the will. man stood exactly where he did before: indeed, this conception scarcely allows for the existence of a "man" -only a willing machine is left, at each click of the action of which the spring regains its original position, and is equally ready as before to perform its function. In such a conception there was no place for character: freedom of will was all. Thus it was not an unnatural mistake which they made, when they forgot the man altogether, and attributed to the faculty of free will, under the name of "possibilitas" or "posse," the ability that belongs rather to the man whose faculty it is and who is properly responsible for the use he makes of it. Here lies the essential error of their doctrine of free

* Compare Schaff, Church History, iii. 804; and Thomastus, Dog-

mengeschichte, i. 487-8.

¹ The Unfinished Work, i. 91; compare 69.

² Dr. Matheson finely says (Expositor, i. ix. 21), "There is the same difference between the Christian and Pagan idea of prayer as there is between the Christian and Pagan idea of sin. Paganism knows nothing of sin, it knows only sins: it has no conception of the principle of evil, it comprehends only a succession of sinful acts.'
This is Pelagianism too.

will. They looked upon treedom in its form only, and not in its matter; and, keeping man in perpetual and hopeless equilibrium between good and evil, they allowed for no growth of character and permitted no advantage to accrue to the man himself from his successive choices of good. It need not surprise us that the type of thought which thus dissolved the organism of the man into an aggregation of disconnected voluntary acts, failed to comprehend the solidarity of the race. To the Pelagian, Adam was a man, nothing more; and it was simply unthinkable that any act of his that left his own subsequent acts uncommitted, could entail sin and guilt upon other men. The same alembic that dissolved the individual into a succession of voluntary acts, could not fail to separate the race into a heap of unconnected units. If sin, as Julian declared, is nothing but will, and the will itself remained intact after each act, how could the individual act of an individual will condition the acts of men as yet unborn? By "imitation" of his act alone could, under such a conception, other men be affected. And this carried with it the corresponding view of man's relation to Christ. Christ could forgive us the sins we had committed; He could teach us the true way; He could set us a holy example; and He could exhort us to its imitation. But He could not touch us to enable us to will the good, without destroying the absolute equilibrium of the will between good and evil. And to destroy this was to destroy the freedom of the will, which was the crowning good of our divinely created nature. Surely the Pelagians forgot that man was not made for will, but will for man.

In defending their theory, as we are told by Augustine, there were five claims that they especially made for it. It allowed them to praise as was their due, the creature that God had made, the marriage that He had instituted, the law that He had given, the free will which was His greatest endowment to man, and the saints who had followed His counsels. By this they meant that they proclaimed the sinless perfection of

¹ Against Two Letters of the Pelagians, iii. 25, and iv. at the beginning.

human nature in every man as he was brought into the world, and opposed this to the doctrine of original sin; the purity and holiness of marriage and the sexual appetites, and opposed this to the doctrine of the transmission of sin; the ability of the law, as well as and apart from the gospel, to bring men into eternal life. and opposed this to the necessity of inner grace; the adequacy of free will to choose the good, and opposed this to the necessity of divine aid; and the perfection of the lives of the saints, and opposed this to the doctrine of universal sinfulness. Other questions, concerning the origin of souls, the necessity of baptism for infants, the original immortality of Adam, lay more upon the skirts of the controversy. As it was an obvious fact that all men died, they could not admit that Adam's death was a consequence of sin lest they should be forced to confess that his sin had injured all men; they therefore asserted that physical death belonged to the very nature of man, and that Adam would have died even had he not sinned.' So, as it was impossible to deny that the Church everywhere baptized infants, they could not refuse them baptism without confessing themselves innovators in doctrine; and therefore they contended that infants were not baptized for forgiveness of sin, but in order to attain a higher state of bliss than that which naturally belongs to innocence. Finally, they conceived that if it were admitted that souls are directly created by God for each birth, it could not be asserted that they come into the world soiled by sin and under condemnation; and therefore they loudly championed the creationist theory of the origin of souls.

The teachings of the Pelagians, it will be readily seen, easily welded themselves into a system, the essential and formative elements of which were entirely new in the Christian Church. It was this startlingly new reading of man's condition, powers, and dependence for salvation that broke like a thunderbolt upon the Western Church at the opening of the fifth century, and forced her to reconsider, from the foundations, her whole teaching as to man and his salvation.

¹ This belongs to the earlier Pelagianism; Julian was ready to admit that death came from Adam, but not sin.

BISHOP BUTLER AND HIS CENSORS.

III.

BY THE RT. HON. W. E. GLADSTONE.

From The Nineteenth Century (London), December, 1895.

III. MR. MATTHEW ARNOLD.

IF, among the more full reviews of Bishop Butler's works, Miss Hennell's was from its tone the most attractive, the review by Mr. Matthew Arnold, in his Last Essays on Church and Religion, is the most thoroughgoing. It consists of two parts: the one attacking the Sermons, the other the Analogy; and it would be difficult to say which of the two is the more condemnatory. He admits, indeed, that there are 'many precious things' contained in the works of this great man, and he sets forth at times with truth and force some of his doctrines." Further, he introduces his hostile review with an admiring and sympathising account of Butler, which is of the highest interest. There is nothing petty in the matter or spirit of his charges. His friends need not fear that his character as a man will suffer from the publication of his (I think) unfortunate essay on 'Bishop Butler and the Zeitgeist; ' a Zeitgeist of which we read from page to page in the title, but hear very little in the text. This perhaps may be accounted for by the supposition that, in the critic's own view, the term is but a synonym for 'Matthew Arnold,' for whom it is perhaps well that the fame of his performances in other fields cannot be justly disparaged on account of his failure—if, indeed, he has failed—in this portion of his indubitably highminded searches after truth.

Mr. Arnold was placed by his own peculiar opinions in a position far from auspicious with respect to this particular undertaking. He combined a fervent zeal for the Christian religion with a not less boldly avowed determination to transform it beyond the possibility of

* E.g. ibid. p. 144.1

Last Essays on Church and Religion, pp. 121, 147.

recognition by friend or toe. He was thus placed under a sort of necessity to condemn the handiwork of Bishop Butler, who in a certain sense gives it a new charter. For he not only accepts that religion talis qualis, but secures for it, in the opinion of his eulogists, a high and secure, as well as to some extent a new, place in the region of philosophy. He does not recognise this radical difference as in any degree the cause of his hostility to Butler; but, whatever view we may take of the merits, there can be no doubt that the system of Butler, and the system of Matthew Arnold, cannot stand together.

So that we have little occasion for surprise when we are introduced to an attack along the whole line, alike minute in its details and broad in its general scope. After reciting no less than five out of the multitude of the glowing panegyrics on Butler, which have been pronounced by various writers, who think he has firmly and impregnably established his doctrine, Mr. Arnold proposes to ascertain 'how far the claim is

solid."

While I am very desirous that this examination of Mr. Arnold's objections should in no degree exhibit a spirit of retaliation, I must frankly own that some of them seem to me to be such as could only have been suggested by what I must term the spirit of objection. Nor is extremism the only fault which it seems necessary at once to allege against Mr. Arnold's censures. There are others, which cannot be overlooked. of these is that he thinks it quite enough, on various occasions, to bestow hard condemnatory epithets upon some of Butler's best considered and most careful statements, and then to treat them as sufficiently disposed of. He censures in these cases de haut en bas. ipse dixit, his αναπόδεικται φάσεις, are to be accepted by his reader as self-attested. He ascends the magisterial chair, and delivers the doom which we have only to register. Another fault, more elementary, and still less pardonable, is the not unfrequent occur-

¹ Last Essays on Church and Religion, pp. 67 68.

rence of palpable inaccuracy in representing the doctrine which he is about to arraign.

It may be convenient at once to present some illustrations of the magisterial method which I have im-

puted to Mr. Arnold.

Butler teaches that reason alone is not for man in his present condition a sufficient motive to virtue; and that affections, of a mixed character, indeed, but which work upon the whole for good, have been joined to it, in order to supply what was lacking. again. Butler teaches that we have a more lively sympathy with distress than with prosperity, and finds the reason herein, that distress calls for our intervention, while prosperity does not. The first of these positions is pelted by Mr. Arnold with hard words; it is 'fanciful,' is an 'immense hypothesis,' is not 'based upon observation,' cannot 'satisfy the mind." The second is simply dismissed as 'fantastic.' To take a third instance, Butler regards anger in its twofold form, as sudden and as deliberate. The first of these, he thinks, is given to avert pain or loss; the second, to further justice, by preventing or reducing injury. And as pity is often too weak for its purpose if single-handed, we are furnished with indignation against wrong to reinforce it. But the Bishop's teaching on anger is set forth with extreme care and fulness.' Mr. Arnold disposes of it by saying that it will be found to be arbitrary, fantastic, and unavailing, at times when facts are felt to be necessary, though it may pass for being Newtonian in times when everything is conventional and no man looks closely into himself. To hard epithets are here joined some bald generalities; but to grapple with Butler's full and closely reasoned statement there is in these cases no attempt whatever.

We are next arrested by another of our critic's characteristic faults, his want of accuracy. He complains of Butler for teaching that compassion is given us 'in

1 Ibid. p. 103.

Last Essays on Church and Religion, pp. 100-2.

Sermons, viii. ss. 4-11.
Last Essays on Church and Religion, pp. 104, 105.

order to lead us to public spirit,' and, again, to 'a settled, reasonable principle of benevolence to mankind." But, so far as I find, Butler has taught neither the one nor the other. He connects public spirit with the love of our neighbour, and thus with charity, benevolence, and good will. It is not compassion, but a form of what is now called Altruism. Nor is compassion the basis of benevolence: that is an original,

distinct, particular affection.

Mr. Arnold may not stand alone in complaining of the manner in which Butler separates self-love from the particular affections. Among these he places benevolence; and self-love appears to be towards ourselves what benevolence is towards others. On the other hand, there is a practical consideration, which may have led Butler to this mode of classification. Benevolence, it may be said, is occasional, but self-love has in each of us a continuous occupation; and so largely and variously does it employ the particular affections in the prosecution of its aim, that there is some convenience in ordinarily viewing it as apart from them. There is no equivalent reason for removing benevolence from the list of particular affections.

Butler has observed that, were it not for the calls of hunger, thirst, and weariness, we should often neglect the proper means of cherishing our lite, although self-love steadily recommends them. Mr. Arnold replies that this supposition is unsatisfactory, and absurd. But he should surely condescend a little to the weakness of such readers as see in Butler's observation nothing but very plain good sense, and inform them of the ground on which he launches this anathema.

Butler is next arraigned for having taught that it is as unnatural to suppress compassion by turning away from the wretched as it would be to attempt suppressing hunger 'by keeping from the sight of food.'' 'Can there be anything more strange,' says Mr. Ar-

Last Essays on Church and Religion, pp. 106, 107.

8 Sermons, vi. s. 6.

Last Essays on Church and Religion, pp. 106, 107.
Sermons, vii. 88. 1, 2.

nold, 'than to pronounce compassion to be a call, a demand of nature to relieve the unhappy; precisely in the same manner as hunger is a natural call for food, and to say that to neglect one call is just as much a violation of nature as the other?" But the Bishop has not said that it is a violation of nature 'precisely in the same manner.' On the contrary, he has said expressly that, though the violation of nature is equally present in both cases, yet the incidents are different; we can do one with greater success than we can do the other.' The manner, then, is far from being 'precisely the same.' But, after all, the Bishop's sin in this matter is that he compares the two as being, both of them, violations of Nature. In the case of hunger, the idea of its being such is near and familiar. In the case of compassion, the idea is remote and probably never may have occurred to us. Butler, acting according to a method of sound philosophy, employs the familiar to illustrate the unknown. But he does more. The unknown is here closely associated with a practical and urgent duty; a duty which involves more or less of self-sacrifice. He is now in the pulpit; where it is his right and obligation to appeal to feeling. By his comparison between hunger and compassion he at once conveys knowledge and arouses right emotion. In so doing he uses the hortatory method; yet, strange to say, he is taken to task by Mr. Arnold for generally avoiding it. Yes; it was Mr. Arnold who, at the outset of his article,' found the gravest fault with Butler because his method was totally unlike that adopted by / true Christianity; and because, instead of aiming directly at the heart and will, he trusted everything to 'tair logic and fair reason.' But here, as heretotore, Butler's contention stands on solid ground; the demand of compassion is as natural, in the highest sense, as the demand of hunger, though compassion may not be armed with equally coercive means for its enforcement.

1 Sermons, vi. s. 6.

Last Essays on Church and Religion, p. 108.

Last Essays on Church and Religion, pp. 67, 68.

The next charge against him is more plausible. It is his teaching that man's proper aim is to escape from misery rather than to pursue positive happiness. Against this rather saddening doctrine, our censor quotes a French moralist, who writes thus: 'The aim for man is, to augment the feeling of joy.' But, further, Butler is here found guilty by Mr. Arnold of contravening 'the clear voice of our religion.' 'Rejoice and give thanks,' exhorts the old Testament, rejoice

evermore, exhorts the New.'

A more careful writer than Mr. Arnold would deserve to be smartly handled for extracting words from a Psalm composed for a joyful occasion, and representing them as a standing maxim or precept of the Old Testament in general. But he is only acting in his too usual manner. The subject he raises gives him perhaps a better standing ground than is supplied by most of his ill-conceived and infelicitous attempts. There may be in Butler's words somewhat of a melancholic strain, drawn from within himself. But they are not to be met aright by simply turning them topsyturvy, as seems to be proposed. Mr. Arnold can hardly have imagined that in the two words he cites from Saint Paul the Apostle intended to do more than supply a much-needed solace, a reactive and bracing incitement, in effect a moral tonic, to enable those whom he was addressing to bear up against their trials and their burdens. Butler might perhaps have said, I am not speaking of the temper in which we are to I am speaking of the objects we are to pursue. And then his position may be stated thus, that labour in avoidance is on the whole more truitfully bestowed than labour in appetence. The charge of contravening religion ought not to have been brought. picture of the actual face of the world presented in the New Testament is not a joyous one. It is rest, and not felicity, which our Saviour promises to the weary and heavy-laden. The world is represented as under the dominion of the Evil One. Saint Paul points to

¹ Last Essays on Church and Religion, p. 110.

consolation elsewhere when he describes life as 'this light affliction, which is but for a moment.' the 'present distress' lay harder and heavier upon him than upon us. But the great, the enduring, the fundamental sorrow of life is the conflict of the soul with sin, which endures, and must endure now, even as it did then. The Greek more than any other perhaps enjoyed his joy, and was of all men the least pessimistic: yet we find in Homer that no creature creeps upon the earth more lamentable than man; and of the two caskets, which lie before the throne of Zeus, and are charged with the destinies of the race, the better can only boast of mixed contents, while the other is filled with unmitigated woe.' It is probable, indeed, that from the reconstructed Christianity and Scripture of Mr. Arnold there had disappeared, together with (or as involved in) the 'anthropomorphic and miraculous,' everything that belongs to what may be called the evangelical sadness of the Gospel. In his lighthearted citation from his French moralist, and his misapprehended Scripture, Mr. Arnold followed too summary a method: and he probably omitted to take into account that a scheme of religion such as his had no room for the idea of sin in its full force and virulence, and that such a scheme really disabled him from passing an impartial judgment on the difficult questions raised by Butler's observations.

It is not surprising that Butler's account of self-love should have become an object of criticism: and it is perhaps to be wished that he could have found occasion to gather together into one conspectus all the important and leading propositions on the subject of it, which are scattered about his Works. But, though some difficulty arises from this sporadic method of treatment, and from the want of easy reference and comparison between one part of the Works and another, it is not easy to excuse Mr. Arnold for the account' he has given of Butler's doctrine of self-love. He speaks of Butler's 'arbitrary definition' of self-

1 //. xvii. 446, xxiv. 527.

¹ Last Essays on Church and Religion, pp. 111, 114.

He says Butler describes it 'occasionally' (should he not have said habitually?) as 'a general desire of one's own happiness.' But his 'constant notion of the pursuit of our interest is, that it is the pursuit of our temporal good, as he calls it; the cool consideration of our own temporal advantage.' there are various passages, in which Butler deals somewhat at large with the subject of self-love. One of these is in the fifth chapter of the first part of the Analogy. Another is in the eleventh of the Fifteen sermons.3 In neither of these does he connect selflove in any way with the present world. Nowhere does he associate it with our 'temporal' good which Mr. Arnold seems to put forward as the favourite appellation. The passages which name self-love may be reckoned in the Analogy by the score; but in one only of these, or possibly two (so far as I know), does the phrase appear in any expressed relation to our worldly And here Mr. Arnold may be to a certain extent upheld, but only if we content ourselves with a miserably garbled quotation. For Butler names 'that reasonable self-love, the end of which is our worldly interest." But the sentence, taken as a whole, entirely overthrows him. Butler is speaking of the way in which 'habits and passions' lead us into vice, apart from external temptations. And yet, he says, this error is doubly forbidden: for 'particular passions are no more coincident with prudence, or that reasonable self-love, the end of which is our worldly interest, than they are with the principle of virtue and religion.

Now Butler is not here treating of our nature at large, or of self-love as such. He is simply treating of a matter of worldly conduct, and of the motives which ought in reason to guide it. One of these is drawn from 'virtue and religion;' the other is from interest, or 'that reasonable self-love the end of which is our worldly interest.' Indicating in one branch of

Analogy, Part I. ch. v. s. 24 n.

³ Analogy, Part I. ch. iv. s. 4. ⁴ There is also a passage in the Sermons where self-love is placed in association with present interest.

⁹ Sermons, xi. ss. 4, 5.

the sentence the loftier motive for doing right, he points out, in the other, the lower one. He is not defining self-love. He is speaking of self-love not at large, but in relation to worldly interest, when it ought undoubtedly to act as an adminiculum to virtue and religion. Is it not rather too bad on the part of a censor, and one, as he has touchingly noted, 'past fifty years of age,' first to take this particular and limited reference to self-love where it is placed in a particular light, and to exalt it into a definition; and then, in still more reckless disregard of his author's text, to describe this isolated use of the phrase amidst a number of utterly adverse instances, as Butler's 'constant notion' of self-love?

Then, shifting the ground of his assault, Mr. Arnold complains that Butler 'sophisticated things' by saying that love of our neighbour is no more distant from (Butlerian) self-love than hatred of our neighbour; a mode of reasoning which, he holds, will never convince or carry a serious student. It is most unfortunate that, in many of his charges, Mr. Arnold, probably feeling, as we have all felt, the difficulties of reference to particular passages, so often fails to cite what he censures. The language of Butler is this—that:

'Benevolence is not in any respect more at variance with self-love than any other particular affection whatever; but it is, in every respect, at least as friendly to it.'

And again, more at large, the Bishop says that there is 'no peculiar inconsistence and contrariety' between benevolence and self-love. The whole idea of self-love being affection to ourselves, it cannot exclude affection to others, otherwise than by not including it. Thus we are carefully led up to the broader proposition that love of our neighbour is 'no more distant from self-love than hatred of our neighbour.' For Butler holds all things which are distinct to be 'equally distinct.' What Mr. Arnold deems sophisti-

¹ Last Essays on Church and Religion, p. 112.

Preface to the Sermons, s. 32. Sermons, xi. ss. 2, 8, 9.

cation appears to be an accurate and studiously careful statement.

And why should we set up a factitious opposition between benevolence and self-love? The duty of doing good to others, and the duty of doing good to ourselves, rest on the same authority, and form in harmony portions of the work which the Almighty has appointed for us to do during our sojourn upon earth. True, there is a perverted and overgrown self-love, which is at odds with benevolence; but it is just as much at odds with sound and reasonable self-love. And to shift the terms of Butler's equation by substituting another self-love for his, and then making him responsible for the conflict between this self-love and benevolence, would not be philosophy, but quackery.

But again, perhaps from feeling uneasy on the ground he has chosen, our critic alters it; and makes it his capital charge that Butler gives no account, or a fantastic account, of the genesis of conscience, benevolence, compassion, and the rest. 'Into this vast, dimly-lighted, primordial region' Butler never enters. Now, his so-called fantastic account is this: By observation he finds these powers set in human nature as essential parts of it, planted there by its Author. So he treats them as ultimate facts, and uses them as points of departure. And it may be that the student will prefer this eminently rational mode of handling to a cruise with Mr. Arnold in his 'dimly-lighted and primordial regions.'

Into those regions Mr. Arnold now proceeds to introduce us, by setting up a counter-philosophy." Its references to Bishop Butler are here for the most part inaccurate. His picture is, indeed, so different in tone and colour from that of his Author, as in a great degree to account for the severity of his judgments. As compared with the system and method of Butler, it is indeed a philosophy upon stilts. And it provokes the repetition of the old dictum that what is true in it is not new, and what is new is not true. He begins by

1 Ibid. pp. 113-21.

Last Essays on Church and Religion, p. 113.

substituting for Butler's 'self-love' the desire of happiness, or effort to live. For the planting of conscience and affections in us by the Author of Nature, he substitutes a growth of them, and of the practical reason, as arising out of the effort to live. (This is simply putting a non-Theistic in the place of a Theistic theory.) Such an effort, or instinct, becomes the strongest, and in virtue of strength gains the right to rule. But learning from experience that men are 'solidary,' it also learns, by a process not explained, that private ought to give way to public good. Man likewise finds in himself a higher and a lower life, and Mr. Arnold unduly charges Butler with saving that they are alike the voice of God. Experience gradually established the higher life, and conscience is the recognition of that experience. If we abstract the unhappily numerous points in which, from want of care, he misstates Butler, there does not appear to be any point in which the critic makes good his hostile position. The doctrine of conscience, enthroned amidst the various impelling powers of our nature, and calling them to account with authority, remains unshaken; and Mr. Arnold's contention that the earnest inquirer will give no heed to a rational account of human nature, until he has been supplied with a theory as to the genesis of all our faculties, appears as reasonable as if it were contended that a traveller, terribly in earnest from a sharpened appetite, arriving at his home, and finding an excellent dinner prepared for him, would not dream of sitting down to partake of it until he had been informed of all the processes which the cook had employed to make it ready.

We have now reached the close of the criticism on

the Sermons

Butler published the *Analogy* at forty-four, and was still, as Mr. Arnold thinks, too young. To read it is, however, 'a very valuable mental exercise." But it is of no value to us, unless we hold the positions of the Deists, with whom it dealt; 'and we do not.'

¹ Last Essays on Church and Religion, p. 122.

Surely a strange doctrine. Few readers of the present day hold either the opinions of Mr. Burke, as given in his Reflections on the French Revolution, or the opinions of the revolutionists. Does it, therefore, follow that we have nothing to learn from the book, and need not care 'two straws' about it? Nor should any man (it seems) read the Provincial Letters, unless he holds the

same opinions which Pascal exposed.

The argument of the Analogy, says Mr. Arnold, is an argument to prove, from the reality of the laws of moral government in this world, a like reality of moral government in the world to come. But the grave inaccuracy of this statement is shown by the very titlepage of Butler's work, which is inscribed The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the constitution and course of Nature. According to Mr. Arnold, it ought to have been 'Moral Government in the next world inferred by Analogy from Moral Government in this. A great subject without doubt, but not the subject chosen by Butler. For moral government in this world is one of the matters, which Butler does not assume, but sets himself to prove. Such want of care, as is here shown, in laying the very foundation stones of an argument is hardly conceivable; and, after such a specimen, we can hardly expect to establish either the perpendicular or the square in the structure which the censor is about to raise. It is 'the constitution and course of Nature' on which Butler builds, and not the reality of moral government in this world, which he has got to prove, and spends the first part of the Analogy in proving.

Butler is next found guilty of failure to satisfy the demands, not of his own argument, but of Mr. Arnold's; who naturally observes that before moral government in the hereafter can be proved from moral government here, it must be shown that there is an hereafter. Of this, he proceeds to observe, Butler has supplied no probability whatever. Let us see how

he supports his contention.

¹ Last Essays on Church and Religion, p. 125. 2 lbid, p. 127.

The differences, says Butler, between different states of life, all known to us by experience, are almost as great as can be mentally conceived. Therefore an existence hereafter, differing from the present, but only within the measure of those known differences. would not be beyond the analogy of Nature. our terrestrial existence is so elastic as to allow of difference x, and since we have no proof that our existence hereafter would involve a difference from the present exceeding x, the supposition of future existence, so conditioned, is within the analogy of Nature. No, replies Mr. Arnold, for you have not proved that there will be such an existence. He does not perceive that his arrow passes by the mark, and lands in a Butler does not here pretend that his argument proves a future existence. He has only rebutted an objection to it by showing that it need not transcend the present and known analogies of Nature.

Again, Butler has observed thus: (dreamless) sleep, and swoons, prove that our living powers may exist when there is no capacity for exercising them. As we know not on what their existence depends, it may depend on something quite out of the reach of death. Therefore there is no sign of any connection between

death and the destruction of living agents.

My last paragraph is an abbreviation from Butler, and gives his argument. In lieu of it Mr. Arnold prints, and prints in the form of a quotation, a passage which entirely omits the middle portion, while he gives the first and last. That is to say, he gives Butler's conclusion, but omits the reason for it, and presents this to his reader as if it were a citation from the Analogy: with a want of care even more gross than that which has marked some previous errors. The presumption raised by Butler's argument, thus overleapt, of course remains untouched. And to say as Mr. Arnold here says that experience alone constitutes the reason of the thing is to strike at the very heart of all arguments founded on analogy. For it amounts to

Analogy, Part I. ch. i. s. 3.

³ Ibid. Part I. ch. i. s. 6.

saying that there never can be any argument for the existence of anything, except experience of its actually existing.

He next contends that the presumption of extinction at death 'goes upon the unbroken experience that living powers then cease.' There cannot be a more complete misconception. Our experience is not of their ceasing to exist, but of their ceasing to afford us sensible and constant evidence of their continued existence.

Mr. Arnold appears habitually or incurably to overlook the distinction between the rebuttal of an objection, and advancing an affirmative argument. Thus when he finds that Butler alleges our remaining the same living agents after the loss of limbs, he observes that our so remaining after the loss of some limbs gives no proof that we can dispense with all, and thinks that he has made a reply. But the Bishop has never used so futile an argument. On referring to his text,' we find that he is arguing only to show that our 'gross organised bodies 'are no part of ourselves because we can lose parts of them without losing any part of ourselves. The body has become different: while the self remains the same. Here as elsewhere Mr. Arnold wastes his sword stroke upon a ghost.

Mr. Arnold then proceeds to admit the existence of a system under which we have experience of reward and punishment. But he says we have no experience to show that they are administered by a 'quasi-human agent' called the Author of Nature. True; Bishop Butler fails to substitute for God 'a stream of tendency, not ourselves, that makes for righteousness.' This valuable discovery of a substitution for Deity was almost made by Aristophanes:

Δίνος βασιλεύει, τὸν Δί' ἐξεληλακώς.

But the critic does not perceive that the Bishop

¹ Last Essays on Church and Religion, p. 128. 2 Ibid.

⁸ Analogy, Part I. ch. i. s. 12. ⁶ Last Essays on Church and Religion, pp. (?) 29, 30, and see sup. 18.

⁵ Aristoph. Néø. 828.

might reply as follows. Your admission is all I want. Call the agent an agency, or call him what you please. Let us part with he and have recourse to it. It may, it you like, be nothing nobler than a treadmill, which awakens by a blow those who neglect to keep the proper pace. But it rewards and punishes, and this according to righteousness. Therefore my argument holds, and men are bound, by the rules which in common life are held binding, to govern themselves accordingly. And this is not 'abstraction or speculation,' but is in the strictest sense an argument from experience. 'Religion must be built on ideas, about which there is no puzzle.' The idea of a personal God we are told is a puzzle. A 'stream of tendency,' then, is none!

The long catalogue of detailed objections draws near its close: but the end is not quite reached. Dealing with the sad question of the apparent waste of human existences, Butler refers to the profuse waste exhibited in other orders of nature; which he says does not destroy the argument of design as to those seeds and bodies which come to their perfection. ' Mr. Arnold's comment is that the difficulties in argument, arising from the existence of waste, are due to our assuming that Nature means 'an Infinite Almighty moral being; and his very simple proposal is to get rid of the difficulty by getting rid of reference to such a being. Yet it is really most difficult to imagine that Mr. Arnold could think we disposed of the difficulties of the case (such as they are) by holding that nobody but Airos is accountable. I call in Divos as a fair equivalent for Mr. Arnold's tayourite 'stream of tendency.

I pass over Mr. Arnold's remarks on Butler's treatment of miracles, as the question is rather too large for succinct treatment; and I will not follow him into the field of Bible history, for I have already overtaxed my reader's patience. But I must say a few words on

his summing up.

Analogy, Part I. ch. v. s. 35.
Last Essays on Church and Religion, p. 134.

Last Essays on Church and Religion, p. 131. 1bid. p. 132.

The most wonderful thing about the Analogy is, he thinks, the poverty of its result, as estimated by Butler himself.1 He then rends from their context various brief sayings from different parts of the text, some of them hard to identify, in which Butler has stated, with perhaps even more than his accustomed modesty and fearless candour, his admissions as to the detects of the evidence he presents. These phrases our critic represents as truly embodying the upshot of the Anal-He gives us the weights that are in one scale, but he forgets to take account of those in the other. It mounts accordingly, and leaves him exultingly to conceive that he has proved his case. He has overlooked the fact that they are balanced by other statements; and that a joint consideration of what is said on the two sides is especially necessary in the case of a writer like Butler in order to get at any true appreciation of his real judgment. Perhaps the strongest of the passages in which he disparages his own performance is the sentence in which he says 'the foregoing treatise is by no means satisfactory; very far indeed from it.' But he presently explains: 'Those who object against it (the evidence of religion) as not satisfactory, i.e. as not being what they wish it, plainly forget the very condition of our being; for satisfaction, in this sense, does not belong to such a creature as man.' He further observes that he has argued upon the principles of others, not his own; and that he has waived all reference to arguments which he deems of the highest importance, the two principles of liberty, and of moral fitness.' A fairer summing up of his judgment than Mr. Arnold's seems to be given in the following words concerning his treatise.

'Those who believe will here find the scheme of Christianity cleared of objections, and the evidence of it in a peculiar manner strengthened; those, who do not believe, will at least be shown the absurdity of all attempts to prove Christianity false; the plain un-

¹ Last Essays on Church and Religion, p. 138.

¹ Analogy, Part II. ch. viii. ss. 17, 18. ² Ibid. Part II. ch. viii. ss. 23, 24.

doubted credibility of it; and I hope a good deal

But Mr. Arnold does not conclude without a parting kick. Butler has laid it down that, in such a matter we ought 'to act upon evidence much lower than what is commonly called probable.' He may mean, in the language of chances, when the adverse chance is say two or three to one. No, says Mr. Arnold; I take fearlessly a given road, though a menagerie is travelling it, and a tiger may break out of his van and destroy me. In other words, a chance of two or three to one, and a chance of two or three thousand to one, the chance of an accident in rope dancing and of one in railway travelling, are for the purposes of his argument one and the same. The Analogy is 'for all real intents and purposes now a failure." And we return from it to the 'boundless certitude and exhilaration of the Bible'; a certitude and exhilaration which do not restrain Mr. Arnold from cutting out of the Scripture, as anthropomorphic and legendary, what nearly all its readers believe to be the heart and centre of its vital force.

Various objections have been taken from various quarters to this point and that in the argument of Butler; but Mr. Arnold's criticisms, as a whole, remain wholly isolated and unsupported. It is impossible to acquit him of the charge of a carelessness implying levity, and of an ungovernable bias towards finding fault. The homely fare on which Butler feeds us cannot be so gratifying to the palate as turtle, venison, and champagne. But it has been found wholesome by experience: it leads to no doctors' bills; and a perusal of this 'failure' is admitted to be 'a most valuable exercise for the mind.' Mr. Arnold himself will probably suffer more from his own censures than the great Christian philosopher who is the object of them. And it is well for him that all they can do is to effect some deduction from the fame which has been earned by him in other fields, as a true man, a searching and

Analogy, Part II. ch. viii. s. 27.

Last Essays on Church and Religion, pp. 140, 141.

sagacious literary critic, and a poet of genuine creative

genius

Upon the whole, I conceive that these four censures, the only censures in detail upon Butler which are known to me, inspire respect for their authors, as well as other sentiments directly due to their conspicuous talents. I trust that this sentiment of respect has not disappeared from my own examination of their criticisms. On the other hand, speaking for myself, after careful endeavours to weigh each and all of the objections which they have taken. I confess to a sense of satisfaction upon finding that after a century and a half, the latter portion of the time distinguished by an unusual activity of the questioning spirit, no more formidable grounds of exception should have been dis-The catapult has beaten on the walls of the covered. fortress; it has stood the shock. The tempest has roared around the stately tree; and scarcely a leaf or twig has fallen to the ground. My confidence is strengthened not only in the permanence of Butler's fame, but much more in the permanence and abundance of the services he has vet to render to his country, to his race, and perhaps to Christendom, as a classic of thought in the greatest of all its domains, the domain of religious philosophy.

I pass on to the criticisms on particular points which have been passed by some distinguished writers not to be reckoned as objectors to the general argument either of the Analogy or the Sermons of Butler. But I first offer a preliminary observation. While, on the one hand, no writer within my knowledge who has been so largely called to account has obtained, from all objectors and questioners alike, so sustained a strain of eulogy and admiration, alike on intellectual and on moral grounds, none I think has been so unfortunate in the amount and gravity of misapprehension with which his contentions have been stated when put upon

¹ I have not thought it necessary to defend Butler against the exceptions taken by Tholuck, which are little known in this country, and which have been sufficiently dealt with by Bishop Fitzgerald in his *Life of Butler*, prefixed to his edition of 1740, p. xivii.

their trial. This circumstance I cannot but ascribe to the difficulty incidental to the extraction of particulars from so continuous and so wonderfully close a tissue of argument as he presents; and yet more to the want of proper means of discharging the duty of reference and cross-reference (as it has been called) to his works.

In his Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy, Mr. Maurice not only assigns to Butler an honoured place in Christian literature, but shows that he had studied the philosopher deeply, and had so drunk in his fundamental conceptions that it might almost appear that he had drawn the very blood of Butler into his own veins. And yet Mr. Maurice falls into most serious inaccuracies in the account he gives of Butler's religious opinions. The idea of human nature presented in the Sermons on Human Nature is according to him the exact opposite of that presented by Mr. Wesley. It raises the question, what provision does human nature supply as a remedy for the disorder admitted to have invaded it? Still more does the Analogy create a necessity for an answer to this question. Mr. Maurice then imagines a challenge from John Wesley to Butler, on the ground that he, Wesley, held a supernatural operation to be necessary for the regeneration of man. Mr. Maurice evidently believes that on this great subject the theologies of Wesley and of Butler were at As regards Wesley, the fact, doubtless unknown to Maurice, is that he uses the most commendatory epithets concerning the Analogy, and gives no hint of dissatisfaction on any point. But what says Butler himself? No recognised theologian has presented more strongly than Butler the corruption and

¹ The delegates of the Clarendon Press are about to publish a new edition of Butler's works, prepared by me, in which both the Analogy and the other principal compositions are broken up into short sections for greater convenience of reference. I have availed myself of these forthcoming sectional divisions in the notes to the present paper.

⁶ London, 1862, 2 vols.; republished with a preface, 1873.

Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy, vol. ii. pp. 466-8 (ed. 1872).

degradation of man through sin. In the Introduction, he tells us that this world is in a state of 'apostasy, wickedness, and ruin.' And as respects the remedy he is not less unequivocal. The doctrine of the new birth is that which most absolutely involves a supernatural operation. The corruption of our moral character, and the necessity of the assistance of the Holy Spirit for the renewal of our nature, are implied, says the Analogy, 'in the express though figurative declaration, Except a man be born of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.'1 It is difficult to understand how so single-hearted a student as Mr. Maurice could have overlooked so perspicuous a declaration. I am driven to suppose that it must have been owing to the extreme difficulties in the way of reference to particular passages of this author, which I have already noticed. This alone can explain the palpable mistakes of critics, whose good faith is as unquestionable as their ability.3

Mr. Goldwin Smith, in a criticism on Mansel's Bampton Lectures, has occasion to refer to Butler as fol-

lows :

'One word more on the authority of Butler. . . .

¹ Introduction, p. 16. ³ Analogy, Part II. ch. i. s. 24. ³ In his Essay on Regeneration (*Theological Essays*, 1853, p. 236) Maurice laments the language used by Butler as seeming to confound probabilities with chances, and otherwise to deal in an unsatisfactory manner with the process to be followed in the acceptance of religious truth. Mr. Maurice does not quote words or refer us to passages, and in the expression of these regrets it would be well always to include, when we are dealing with a great teacher, and especially if we are teachers ourselves, the means of verification. It may be admitted that (1) the argument from probabilities lends itself to the gibes of the scoffer, and provokes the sensitiveness of over-fastidious intellects; and (2) that Butler has in a single passage confounded probabilities with chances (Analogy, vol. ii. ch. ii. pp. 11, 12). But, as regards the first, it constitutes no sufficient reason for eschewing a line of reasoning, which can never be dispensed with when we are challenged to undertake the defence of our own cause. As regards the second, Butler stumbled into his error, not by lowering probabilities to chances, but rather by exalting chances to the rank of probabilities, when, by this undue promotion, they were to do duty in the service of the religious argument. His error has long ago been pointed out by Bishop Fitzgerald in loc. A Rational Religion, 1861.

In dry intellect he was mighty. . . . But he was wanting in feeling, the power of sympathy; and his religious philosophy is grievously marked with this defect.'

The tributes of admiration which Goldwin Smith pays to Butler in this passage show plainly that the animadversion was extorted from him by a sense of duty to truth, such as he conceived it to be. But is

it just?

With regard to dry light, it may be, not conceded. but avowed and proclaimed, that the atmosphere of the Analogy is one of dry light, and only dry light, throughout. Nor does it seem doubtful that Butler acted with intention; or that he judged wisely in excluding from this philosophic treatise anything which would have deviated from the line of strict reasoning by an appeal to emotion. Even feeling, and the power of sympathy, these glories of our nature, are only good in their place; and this was not their place; because, if Butler had allowed such elements to be mixed with his argument, every word of the matter so intruded would have served to harden and to arm the cold indifference, and the hotter prejudices, of his adversaries against the appeal which he made to their reasoning faculties, and to their judicial integrity.

But surely, when Mr. Goldwin Smith penned these words, he had forgotten the proof in our possession that the philosophy of Butler reserves for the affections their proper place. We find his estimate of them on every appropriate occasion with which the subjects of his Sermons supply him. It is known that he was given to religious retirement and to reading the biographies of holy persons: a circumstance which, perhaps, might suitably have arrested the pen of the critic. But we have also the direct evidence afforded by the Sermons on the love of God. He notes with care the ascending stages of this love. It should pass beyond all servile fear, and should attain to 'resignation,' a phrase by which Butler means not the merely passive sentiment, but an entire concurrence with the Divine Will. All earthly objects, he observes, leave a void in us, which only God Himself can adequately supply. He believes that Heaven will provide a happiness coming directly from God Himself, and not merely as now from the intermediate objects which He presents to our view. Butler's religion undoubtedly was marked with that reserve which is a marked characteristic of English piety, which may sometimes be carried into excess, but which is so far from implying a deficiency in fervour, that it rather indicates a dread lest the emotions of holy devotion should come to be mixed with alien elements, and should be chilled by exposure to the rude climate of the world. He therefore takes refuge at the close of these Sermons, in those expressions of the Psalms which are consecrated by the use of so many generations, and raised to so high a level that no irreverence can touch them. feel persuaded that a perusal of the closing portion of the two Sermons would lead Mr. Smith to withdraw or modify the judgment he has given.

The writings of Mark Pattison, which touch at various points upon those of Butler, bear what may be termed an unbroken testimony to their power. His 'Essay on Religious Thought in England' includes a series of excellent reflections respecting the Analogy,' on which he appears to have bestowed much hard study. In his Memoirs' he bears witness to 'the solid structure of logical argument, in which it surpasses any other book that I know in the English language.' He follows up this weighty judgment with a passage

for which it by no means prepares us.

'But it is not a book adapted for an educational instrument, as it diverts the mind from the great outlines of scientific and philosophical thought, and fastens it upon petty considerations, being in this respect the converse of Bacon's Novum Organon.'

In a later portion of the same work he records with evident satisfaction that, as one of a board of liberal examiners, he shared (from his great ability it may be

1 Sermons, xiv. ss. 10, 11.

Pattison's Memoirs, p. 134.

Pattison's Essays, edited by Nettleship, vol. ii. p. 74 sqq.

that he largely shared, or even led the way) in striking Butler off the list of books which might be taken up in the Oxford schools.1 Mr. Pattison's condemnatory proceeding would have carried great weight, had he not, with so singular a frankness, informed us of the reason by which it was governed. He has just before given us one reason which went to show that the Analogy was admirably suited for an educational instrument, for it was the most solid structure of logical argument known to him in the English language. It is indeed unlucky, to say the least, for scientific and philosophical thought if its outlines are such as cannot include 'the most solid structure of logical argument in the English language known to this learned, able, and accomplished man. But then this great performance fastened the mind upon petty considerations. issue is plainly stated, and it remains only to ascertain what are the petty considerations in question. They are those which form the subject of the Analogy. the subject of the Analogy may be succinctly described. It is the dealings of God with man in the kingdoms of Nature, Providence, and Grace, which it handles in a structure of logical argument more solid than is to be readily found in any English work of 'scientific and philosophical thought.' Of these three kingdoms, Bacon's Novum Organon introduces us only to that commonly regarded as the lowest; but it we are to interpret Mr. Pattison strictly, the one alone capable of supplying us with philosophical and scientific thought. We seem here to be in the face of a strange A treatise consummate in logical structure dilemma. is proscribed as an instrument of education, by reason of the unworthiness of its subject. For those who think it worthy, Mr. Pattison has supplied a perfect demonstration that the Analogy is admirably fitted to be an instrument of the most masculine training. on the other hand, Mr. Pattison's dictum be sound, Butler's Analogy may justly disappear from among the instruments of education. But the thorough and impartial application of his principle will require that

¹ Pattison's Memoirs, p. 324.

much else should disappear along with it: perhaps not least, that the Scriptures themselves should abdicate their position as the final rule and the staple tood of Christendom, and should remain among us to be only an object of exhibition as the greatest, and the strangest too, among the archæological curiosities of the world.

Before parting company with the critics of Butler. it remains to take notice of his alleged failure to treat subjects of religion in a manner duly evangelical. And here I offer a preliminary observation on the associations belonging to his extraction. Persons familiar with the methods of the more modern Nonconformity might feel inclined, from his having been bred as a Dissenter, to be specially exacting with him on this account. But, from piecing together the threads of circumstance, I think it most probable that his connection was with that portion of the contemporary Dissenters who, during the period of his boyhood and youth, were rapidly moving away from the older standard of Puritanism, and towards the system afterwards known as Unitarian. There are perhaps some grounds for surmising that the Tewkesbury Academy, where he was trained, was passing towards the more latitudinarian side of Nonconformity. His relations with Clarke, who passes for an Arian, look in the same The writers whom he quotes do not include direction. any among either the Non-jurors, or those champions of Anglican divinity who had given it form and body during the seventeenth century. If Waterland be thought an exception, it must be borne in mind that Waterland's commendations of preachers included the sermons of Hoadiy. In dealing with external religion, and with the historical institution of the Church, Butler makes good positions markedly conducive to the constructive process which had been advancing from the time of Hooker to that of Beveridge; but these positions carry no mark of Anglican tradition, and seem to have been taken up as the result of his own independent thought.

The charge itself, if it were well founded, would be a serious one. But I confess that it appears to me to be wholly wanting in foundation. It may even have been a duty laid upon Butler by the origin and purpose of the Analogy to avoid, as a general rule, the warmer religious phraseology. For, firstly, it is a scientific treatise on the basis of belief in the Divine Government of the world; and, in such a treatise, the doctrines of grace find but a narrow place. further, he was in part arguing against Deists, and in part dealing with a state of society divided in the main between indifference and unbelief. He has himself acquainted us that, doubtless with a view to the furtherance of his cause, he argued 'upon the principles of others, not his own'; and, if he argued upon their principles, it was a matter of course that he should not stand in marked contrast with the strain of their language. Half a century later, the excellent work of Mr. Wilberforce adopted a different tone; but Mr. Wilberforce's work was a treatise d'occasion, and he sought not so much to lay the foundations of belief, as to stir men up to the practice of what they already professed. It is true there is an absence of what may be termed evangelical flavour, or unction, from Butler's general strain. But his plan was surely the plan best calculated to secure for him that which was the farthest limit of his modest wishes, an impartial hearing, accorded by educated men. All colouring given, beyond what necessity demanded, to the handling of his topics would have seemed to them a surreptitious method of drawing attention away from the merits of the case, and, as I have already urged, would have supplied a plea at least plausible for shutting a book which did not give them fair play.

But it undoubtedly lay within the necessity of the case that Butler should convey to his readers, in outline, a true idea of that Gospel which he was commending to them under the name of Revealed Religion. He was bound in his sphere 'to convince the world of sin,

Analogy, Part II. ch. viii. s. 32.

of righteousness, and of judgment," by presenting to it a true picture of human nature, of its actual fall, and of the means divinely provided for its recovery. He depicted human nature as a thing beautiful and noble. as the work of God, not of the devil: and those who may be startled at his attitude might do well to note what St. Augustine says on the same subject in his writings against the Manicheans. Has he, then, been stinted in his acknowledgment of the havoc wrought in that nature by the introduction of sin into the world? On the contrary, he is alike distinct and copious, not in merely acknowledging, but in enforcing, this melancholy truth. Before we have read many pages of his Introduction, we learn that this world is in a state of 'apostasy, wickedness, and ruin.' If training be generally required for the imperfect, how much more for those who have 'corrupted their na-tures,' for 'deprayed creatures' who want to be renewed.' The present state was intended to be a discipline of virtue; but the 'generality of men' 'seem to make a discipline of vice.' Mankind are 'corrupted and deprayed, and thus unfit for the state which Christ has prepared for His disciples." We are in a condition of 'vice, and misery, and darkness.' That the world is in a condition of ruin ' seems the very ground of the Christian dispensation.'

In a very full and striking passage he sums up the case; and here he does not stop short of avowing that the generality grow more profligate and corrupt with age. In truth, if there be any one topic on which repetition may plausibly be made a charge against Butler, it is the sad and solemn topic of the misery, debasement, and corruption which virulent and inveterate sin has brought about in the world. The numerous passages afford abundant proof of his anxiety not only to promulgate, but to stamp this un-

happy truth on the minds of his readers.

¹ St. John xvi. 8.

² Analogy, Introd. p. 16; also Part II. ch. i. s. 16; ch. iii. s. 23.

² Ibid. Part I. ch. v. s. 30.

³ Ibid. Part II. ch. i. s. 24.

⁴ Ibid. Part II. ch. v. s. 23.

⁵ Ibid. Part II. ch. v. s. 23.

⁸ Ibid. Part II. ch. v. s. 12.

The recovery of this race, to all appearance hopelessly lost, is by a Priest-Victim, foreshadowed in ancient predictions, who is also our Prophet or Teacher, and our King, and who has made on our behalf an atonement or expiation, the mode whereof is not revealed to us, but as to which we know that it has an efficacy beyond that of instruction, example, or government. By this Atonement we are enabled to escape wrath and obtain life.' And He has founded a church or kingdom, as the home within which this process is to be carried on. But inasmuch as we are enfeebled and incapacitated by sin, there is also a provision for rectifying the perverted will, and making good the energies so sadly exhausted as concerns the pursuit of This is the assistance of God's Spirit to effect the needful renovation, which is implied in the declaration, figurative but express, ' Except a man be born of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God."

The exception taken to Butler, which I have thus endeavoured to obviate, has been taken by men both sincere and eminent, and in terms of regretful sympathy and admiration such as show a reluctance to find faults in one whom they admit to have been a great benefactor to the Christian world. Still I am fain to hope it will be admitted, not only that his belief is sound and strong, but that there is much to be said in defence of the cast of his phraseology when it is considered as a whole.

Analogy, Part II. ch. v. ss. 13-21. Ibid. Part II. ch. i. s. 24. [It has only been since this paper was written that I have become acquainted with Professor Eaton's two lectures on Bishop Butler and his Critics (Oxford and London, Parkers, 1877). They would not however, have induced me to forego my design. For while they contain many just defensive criticisms they are occupied in a great degree with the vindication of Butler at large, whereas my purpose has been to deal only with the objections, and to deal with them seriatim. I mean with such objections as touch the special argument of Bishop Butler, not with such as animadvert merely on his general belief in an Author of Nature and in free-will.]

BISHOP BUTLER'S APOLOGIST.

BY LESLIE STEPHEN.

I.

From The Nineteenth Century (London), January, 1896.

MR. GLADSTONE has in the last two numbers of this Review censured Bishop Butler's 'censors.' It is. perhaps, only due to so eminent and so courteous an apologist that I should say something of that part of his remarks in which I am personally concerned. Mr. Gladstone's observations range over too wide a field to be easily followed. To answer them at length would moreover be to assume that my readers keep in mind not only Mr. Gladstone's articles, but the works of Bishop Butler himself and the various positions taken by Butler's critics. I shall, therefore, take a shorter method. I shall try to show what is the essence of Butler's argument in the Analogy; and shall point out incidentally its bearing upon Mr. Gladstone's position and my own. I will only premise that I have the comfort of being in good company. The ambiguous nature of Butler's argument has struck many thinkers. common remark that it raises as many difficulties as it solves is confirmed by the statement of Dr. Martineau that it affords a 'terrible persuasive to atheism.' James Mill, according to his son, was in fact led to atheism by reading the Analogy. When so vigorous a sceptic as Mill and so eminent a defender of theism as Dr. Martineau agree in attributing this tendency to Butler's work, I think that Mr. Gladstone would have done well to ask how such an interpretation commended itself to men otherwise at opposite poles of thought. An argument can surely not be free from ambiguity which can thus recoil upon the cause which it was intended to support. I do not think the explanation very difficult, and I shall try to give it as briefly as I can.

Butler, as we all know, wrote against the deists of his day, and his argument can best be understood by considering his relation to them. (I may here note parenthetically that as my remarks refer primarily to the theological views current at Butler's time, they would require considerable modification if applied to modern theology, which is not the less changed in substance because it preserves the old terminology.) Now the deists of Butler's time (omitting some who were really rather sceptics than deists) believed generally in what they called the 'religion of Nature.' tral tenet was the existence of an omnipotent and benevolent Ruler of the universe. That truth, as they held, could be proved by pure or a priori reasoning, such as was fully accepted by divines of varying shades of orthodoxy. Clarke, in particular, attempted a demonstration of the religion of Nature in his famous Boyle lectures; and Butler, in the well-known correspondence with their author, appears to have been convinced of the validity of the argument. The religion of Nature was thus common ground. The point at issue between the pure deists and the divines who so far agreed with them concerned the relations of this system to 'revealed religion.' According to the Christian advocates, the doctrines of revelation were to be regarded as embodying the religion of Nature, while adding truths not accessible by the light of mere reason, but necessary or, at any rate, highly useful additions or elaborations. The deists, on the contrary, held that these doctrines were perversions and unwarrantable adaptations of the truth. They maintained, for example, that the God of Nature could not be identified with the Jehovah who had ordered the Jews to massacre the Canaanites. To explain such difficulties is one of Butler's main purposes. But behind this question lay a very much wider problem. The most obvious conclusion from the deist position is expressed in the optimism of the day. From the perfect Creator it might seem natural to infer a perfect creation. One version of this opinion appears in the famous doctrine of Leibniz that this is 'the best of all possible worlds'; another is the doctrine which Pope expanded with Bolingbroke's guidance in the brilliant couplets of his

'Essay on Man,' that 'whatever is, is right.' And this view leads to the old difficulty connected with the origin of evil. Voltaire's Candide, and Johnson's Rasselas, for example, were simultaneous protests of great men against the optimistic theories. Your arguments, they said in substance, may be all very well; but, in point of fact, the world is full of vice and misery. Somehow or other, then, there is a gap between the Maker and his work. The most striking fact about the world, as Newman afterwards said, is the apparent absence of the Creator from His creation. How are we to reconcile our abstract reasoning with our concrete inserence? That was a problem to which, as I need hardly say, no full answer is even professedly given; but although Butler does not attempt to supply an answer, his consciousness of its existence affects

profoundly his mode of statement.

The theological doctrine corresponding to this gap is the corruption of man; and that doctrine, as Mr. Gladstone rightly insists, has a most important bearing upon Butler's argument. To show how it affects his reasoning, I must briefly recall some very familiar re-What is the philosophical difficulty? And, flections. in the first place, is there any real difficulty? If the existence of God follows, as some philosophers say, simply from the necessity of a First Cause, there is so far no difficulty to be solved. Evil requires a cause as much as good; the germ which causes disease and the specific which cures it are both facts of Nature, and therefore created by the God of Nature. On this showing we can only reach such a God as the God of Spinoza: the ground or first cause of the whole universe, if not to be identified with the universe itself. The difficulty emerges if the divine attributes be taken to include perfect benevolence as well as infinite power. The benevolence might be vindicated at the expense of the power. If God is conceived to be only a part of the universe, limited by the materials upon which he works or by other living things, evil need not be attributed to him. This position is accepted by Manichæism and by all popular theologies which practically accept anthropomorphism. They have to answer the difficult question which Friday put to Crusoe : Why does not God kill the devil? If, because he could not, you limit his power. If, because he did not choose, you deny his benevolence or come to what divines call a mystery. But is this reference to mystery more than a confession that your logic fails, or an admission that your own theory makes the difficulty which you assert to exist? To speak of the fall of man is, of course, not to give an explanation. The question remains: Why did man fall? It is not more easy to say why Adam ate the apple, than to say why Bill Sikes killed his mistress. It may indeed be assumed as an ultimate and inexplicable fact: but you are bound to give your antagonist some reason for believing in it, and for reconciling it to your philosophy. God, you say, is allpowerful and all-benevolent; but you admit that the world looks as it one of those attributes were limited. Then why not assume that it is limited? Your theory may be right, but how can you disprove the other theory? If, indeed, this method of reasoning be allowed, it is plain that you can prove anything. Your theory does not fit the facts. You reply, then, that this is due to an inexplicable circumstance. I assert, let us say, that the Sultan is perfectly wise and good and an absolute ruler. You retort that his subjects commit atrocities. That, I answer, is because somehow his will is not enforced. But how can that be, if he is as wise and powerful as you assert? Would it be a sufficient answer to say, that is a mystery?

It is, of course, true that, if the attributes of the Deity can be logically proved, while the facts are not such as we should infer from the attributes, we may be justified in setting down the difference to our ignorance or feebleness of thought. And, so far as Butler was concerned with the deists who, like him, admitted the divine attributes and yet could not deny the existence of evil, he might have a fair argument ad hominem. They could not fairly attack him for not answering a problem which was equally pressing and equally unanswerable on their own showing. I said, accordingly.

that as against the deists, he could make a strong case. I will not now ask whether it really came to more than a retort of difficulties. I am speaking of the path by which the Analogy leads to atheism. Butler, who apparently thought the arguments for theism satisfactory, and took them to be admitted by his antagonists, naturally assumes that the great difficulty is common to all But it is necessary for me to point out how it appears to one who denies that here is a difficulty. And here we come to the peculiar method of the Analogy. Butler obviously could not deduce the fall of man as a necessary or even probable consequence from his theology. He therefore adopts an indirect method. From natural or revealed religion, he says, we obtain a certain knowledge of the divine attributes. Now let us look at the 'Constitution and Course of Nature.' and consider what it implies as to the Creator. If it appears that it is a manifestation of attributes similar to those implied by Revelation and by natural religion, this coincidence will confirm our religious belief.

But here the question already stated becomes important. I am to look at Nature-at our actual experience of human life and its surroundings. But am I to assume that the very facts to which I am appealing are abnormal? This would be obviously preposterous assumption in a scientific investigation. To appeal to experience and at the same time to declare that experience in general is somehow distorted is to declare at starting that my appeal is illusory. Butler professes to seek for God in Nature, and begins by assuming that God is somehow separated from Nature, he will obviously appear to antagonists as simply reserving a right to invalidate the evidence which he produces. may prove, perhaps, that his own view is consistent: but he does not show that his antagonist's view is inconsistent. It is because his argument is so often of this character, that he relies upon the characteristic doctrine of probabilities. He frequently urges that the possibility that a doctrine may be true is often for practical purposes as important as a certainty that it is true. With this I am only concerned in so far as it is

an admission that he only proves a possibility. Here I first come into collision with Mr. Gladstone. Hume, as I observed, took this point. If you appeal to facts, you must be bound by facts. If the world does not show a perfect Creator you had no right to begin by declaring that the world is distorted. Mr. Gladstone agrees with Dr. Beattie that Hume's essay is 'flimsy,' and thinks that the 'weakest fly 'might escape from the meshes of this sophistical web. With Hume to back me, I do not fear to encounter Mr. Gladstone weighted with the worthy Dr. Beattie. I must, however, speak very briefly of an argument, the bearings of which will become evident as we proceed. I can only say now that from the empirical point of view represented by Hume, Butler's assumption is obviously unwarrantable. If we are to interpret experience, that assumption becomes a simple evasion. Mr. Gladstone puts the case of finding an unfinished bit of work. May I not infer, he says, from the fragment what is the intended whole? Of course I may, I do so in every scientific induction. What I may not do, is to take for granted that the work does not fully represent This picture, you say, proves the workman's intention. a consummate artist. But it is ill drawn. That is because it does not adequately represent the artist. low me to assume that, and I will prove any daub to be the work of a Raphael. The meaning of this will appear more fully presently; but I must proceed to Butler's peculiar version of the argument.

We are, he says, to look at the 'Constitution and Course of Nature.' There, of course, we shall find evil. How are we to reconcile this fact to the government of benevolent Omnipotence? In one case, perhaps, we can reconcile ourselves to suffering—namely, when suffering is punishment. It is true that, even here, we become aware of a certain difficulty. Butler warns us at starting that we perhaps are too free in our speculations upon the divine goodness. It may signify not a disposition to make men, as men, happy,

¹ Works, vol. i. p. 41 (Oxford edition, 1836).

but to make good men happy. Justice, in short, is a more prominent attribute than benevolence, and justice supposes the distribution of rewards and punish-We have then to follow this clue and consider whether the world reveals to us a just Judge and Governor, though the revelation may be imperfect. Butler undertakes to show, first, that God governs us, and, secondly, that his government is moral. The first point is simple. We are admittedly capable of pleasure and pain, and can so guide ourselves as to get pleasures and avoid pains. If, therefore, God has determined what shall be pleasurable and what shall be painful, he does in fact govern us. Upon this statement I need only make one remark. Butler observes that God not only 'dispenses happiness and misery, but also dis-penses rewards and punishes actions.' What, then, is the difference between the sufferings and the punishments? They are distinguished, for the punishment is, as Butler says, something 'annexed.' The 'proper formal notion of government,' he tells us, is 'annexing' pain or pleasure to actions and giving notice beforehand to the persons concerned.' Hence it is plain that there are sufferings which are not punishments, and it becomes important to consider how to distinguish natural punishments from natural sufferings. Butler's illustration is remarkable. The pain caused by a burn is a divine punishment, he says, for doing what is destructive to ourselves: as much so as if a 'voice from heaven' had proclaimed that people who touched fire should be hurt. Directly afterwards we come to a different case. Young men are guilty of vices which cause misery. They are induced to sin by the momentary pleasure, as they are kept from the fire by the momentary pain. Is, then, the pleasure a 'reward'? Does Nature lay baits as well as set traps? Butler, of course, should repudiate so monstrous a conclusion; but why? How is the 'punishment' to be discriminated? The analogy of human law is obvious. Murder is a capital offence; the mischief is the harm

inflicted upon the victim: the sanction is the pain 'annexed' by the State. What is the analogous distinction in the natural legislation? Another case mentioned by Butler' may show the point. I jump over a cliff and am killed. Is my death a 'punishment' for leaping cliffs? The obvious remark is that there is no harm in leaping cliffs when it does not cause death. Therefore, if the death is a punishment, it is also the cause of the evil. Thus—which is all I need say at present-if no distinction be made, the theory of 'annexing ' is puzzling. An act will appear to be bad because it causes mischief, and the same mischief is the punishment for its badness. If so, we cannot regard the 'annexation' as anything surprising, for it would merely mean that actions which cause mischief are mischievous. How far this affects Butler's argument will appear directly. Meanwhile, it is worth remarking that his language often seems at least to ignore the distinction. He speaks of 'natural punishments or miseries' as if they were identical.' He says that the divine government is of the 'very same kind with that which a master exercises over his servant.' He declares elsewhere that it is a fact that 'even brute creatures' are governed by 'the method of rewards and punishments." It seems as if he had so identified punishment with suffering that he assumes them to be the very same thing. Law annexes pains to crime. Therefore, all punishment implies suffering. That is obvious, but Butler apparently inverts this at times, and speaks as if all suffering implied punishment, species—pain inflicted to prevent other pain—is made the genus; and pain in general is inflicted to prevent -what?

I mention this, not as accusing Butler of overlooking the difficulty entirely; he expressly admits the distinction, but the assumption still affects his most important argument. The whole pith and substance of that argument is given in the third chapter. God governs: that he regards as a 'fact,' sufficiently proved

by the existence of pain and pleasure as determining conduct. But he will next show that the government is moral. The proof is put very shortly in the statement that virtue as such is rewarded and vice as such is punished. If this means, as I take it to mean, that as a rule virtue leads to happiness and vice to misery, I fully agree with the statement. The difficulty concerns the tacit substitution of 'reward' for happiness and punishment' for misery. We shall now see how Butler practically meets the difficulty. If, in the first place, we speak merely of prudence as Butler calls it, or, as Bentham would say, of self-regarding conduct, it is hard for the reasons just given to distinguish between the 'sanction' or punishment and the conduct punished. A man becomes rich by prudence. may, of course, speak of his wealth as a 'reward' but it can hardly be regarded as a reward 'annexed' to his conduct. Prudence in money affairs is good from the purely selfish point of view, just because it saves money and so far as it saves money. That is the simple fact which does not suggest any 'annexed' penalty. It proves that certain mental and moral qualities are useful and are therefore good. It proves whatever may legitimately follow from that as to the arrangements of the world. But it does not suggest anything more than this, that men can in some degree secure their own comfort. When, however, we come to the case of virtue, we have an obvious distinction. consequences of virtuous actions affect a great many people beside the agent. We may, therefore, say that in this case the reward is whatever good happens, and the punishment whatever ill happens, to the agent himself in consequence of his good or bad action. To this we will add, as I have said, that virtue naturally brings happiness and vice misery. Are these consequences to be regarded as 'rewards' and 'punishments'? Or, for this is my special point at present, is Butler justified in assuming that this is to be proved as against an antagonist?

If his antagonist be a Utilitarian, especially of the evolutionist variety, his reply will be obvious. It is

quite true, he will say, that virtue as such brings happiness, and vice as such misery. But why? Because conduct which as such is useful is therefore virtuous. and conduct which as such is mischievous is therefore vicious. What you choose to call the 'punishment' was precisely the circumstance which makes the conduct bad, and without which it would not be bad. consequently is merely the device of calling suffering punishment, which begs the question and gives plausibility to your answer. But you say that what is good for the society is also good for the individual. The utilitarian account of this is plain. It is simply that some such conformity is a necessary condition of social A society in which it was the interest of existence. each man to do what was injurious for all men would be a society incapable of surviving. Some conformity is necessary to its very existence. In point of fact the evolution of morality has been precisely a gradual working out of this identification of interests.

Now I must observe expressly that I do not here assert that this is the true theory. To do so would be to argue the greatest of all ethical problems, whether, namely, virtue is independent and happiness a consequence, or happiness independent and virtue a consequence. All that I say is that the answer of Butler's antagonist is a very obvious one; and that, so far as the facts go, either theory may be accepted according to the philosophical bias and the intellectual temperament of the construer. Before, that is, Butler could make any impression upon one half of the philosophical world, he would have to show not only that the facts can be read in his way, but that they cannot be read in theirs. He seems to himself to be simply stating a fact, when he is taking for granted the very version of the facts which his opponents regard as unten-The opponent denies that there is any plausibility in considering the bad consequences as punish-He will, like the 'flimsy' Hume, say that what we must do is to take the facts as a whole, and consider what interence, if any, is to be drawn as to the Creator. We must not speak as though the Creator came in and 'annexed' certain consequences, when all that we know is that the whole system is equally part

of the 'natural' order.

But here we have to turn to a different set of facts. It is, as I have said, true that virtue as such generally brings happiness. It is equally true, as I should have thought every one admitted, that this coincidence is by no means as precise as we could wish; nay, that the great object of all reformers is to make it more The problem which arises was already a precise. familiar one when the book of lob was written, and has, I suppose, been discussed by every later moralist. Are there not such things as martyrs to good causes. and as rogues who have thriven without being found out? I suppose that Mr. Gladstone, in spite of his enviable optimism, must have noticed such facts now and And yet he charges me with unfairness because I had said that, by Butler's admission, 'divine punishments sometimes strike the virtuous person on account of his virtue' and 'often miss striking the vicious on account of his vice.' Listen, replies Mr. Gladstone. to Butler himself; and he proceeds to quote the phrases about 'the virtue, as such, being rewarded, and vice, as such, punished.' Listen to Butler himself, I reply.' The general side of things, he says, leads often 'to the rendering some persons prosperous though wicked, afflicted though righteous'; and, 'which is worse, to the rewarding some actions though vicious, and punishing other actions though virtuous '(Butler's own I was simply paraphrasing Butler's words, 'The liar' is not 'rewarded' for lying: that he thinks impossible; but he sometimes gets a reward by lying: that he admits to be undeniable.

Moreover, as Butler follows his statement by a careful explanation of the difficulty, there can be no dispute as to his accepting the facts. What is the explanation? Butler contends that the tendencies of virtue and vice are 'essential and founded in the nature of things'; whereas the hindrances are 'artificial.' If

virtue and vice are actually rewarded and punished here, there is reason to think that they may be rewarded and punished in a higher degree hereafter.' Now an antagonist who took Hume's position (and in fact Butler is here especially answering such a person) would naturally ask, What is the reason? Why from a certain state here should I expect so different a state hereafter? If saints and sinners are here mixed together, why should I infer that a great gulf will ultimately be fixed between them? This reply involves the distinction between the 'essential' and the 'artificial.' How, then, does such a distinction come to have a place at all in the argument?

FRIEDRICH LOOFS.

BY PROFESSOR THE REV. W. F. SLATER, M.A., DIDSBURY.

From The Expository Times (Edinburgh), January, 1896.

DR. SANDAY has taken as the subject of his first lectures, as Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, at Oxford, 'Recent Researches into the Origin of the Apostles' Creed.' We need not remind our readers of the recent German investigation upon this subject, nor of the widespread controversy which it has occasioned. While acknowledging the value of English work on this sphere,—particularly in the writings of Heurtley, Swainson, Swete, and Lumby,—Dr. Sanday intimates that 'the Germans have brought him nearest to the origin of the Creed.' The labours of Caspari, Hahn, Harnack, and Zahn in this department of inquiry are well known. If these learned and zealous explorers differ somewhat in their results, they agree to trace the beginnings of the most ancient symbol of the Church to apostolic days. Among his authorities, however, the Lady Margaret Professor declares Loofs to be 'the most attractive theologian in Germany'; and that 'if any one is likely to speak the last word on the origin

of the Creed, it is Loofs.' As this name has not yet become widely known in the theological world, the readers of this journal may be interested in some ac-

count of his works.

Herr D. Friedrich Loofs is Professor of Church History in the University of Halle. It is gratifying to find that this venerable school of sacred learning has a teacher so well equipped with patristic and current theology, and yet thoroughly in sympathy with the best critical ideas. Perhaps we ought not to be surprised that this ancient fountain of Pietism can yet supply inspiration to minds saturated with the modern,

scientific spirit, as is that of Professor Loofs.

His latest publication consists of three sermons on the Creed, preached before his university.' The first discourse begins with the remark that one half of the Sundays in the year are, in the Church calendar, called 'Trinity-Sundays.' Trinitarian doctrine was once very prominent in Church teaching, but has recently fallen into the background. Yet, we must either renounce the formulas, or more carefully study their significance. Are we not still baptized into 'the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost'? He goes on to show that the articles of the Creed are organically connected. If the first article asserts our trust in God as our Father, it yet refers to the later portions which exhibit the work of the Son and the Spirit. Further, he is careful to point out that faith is not a merely intellectual operation, but a spiritual experience. The child does not need a philosophic interpretation of his relation to his parent before he can trust him. 'Trust, that yields itself wholly to the hand of God, that knows itself safe as a child on his father's breast-trust, that suffers itself to be led, blind, without self-choosing, that is Faith.' 'I believe' is the first article of the Christian faith, and indeed its sum.

The connexion between the first article of the Creed

¹ 'Das Apostolikum in drei, am 1, 3, und 5 Trinitatis-sonntag. 1895, in akademischen Gottesdienste zu Halle gehalten Predigten, ausgelegt von D. Friedrich Loofs, ordentlichen Professor der Kirchengeschichte am der Universität Halle.' Halle: M. Niemander, 1895.

and the second is found in the conditions of humanity. Can man thus 'trust' in God? Can he, when tragic sorrow is upon him, trust in God as a loving Father? Can he, when truly convinced of sin, confide in a holy Being? Surely, the work of the Son and the grace of the Spirit here become a necessity. The articles of the Creed cannot be taken in complete isolation. 'True faith has neither pieces nor parts;' it is a complete whole. The first article is not enough by itself, as some think; it needs the contents of the second and third parts to make a full account of Christian faith.

In the second sermon Professor Loofs refers to Luther's explanation of Christian faith in God. The great Reformer exhibits the relation of the faith that 'Jesus Christ is my Lord, who has redeemed me, a lost and condemned man,' with that in God as the Creator and Preserver of all. Melanchthon said that the first articles both looked to the last, which contains the clause: 'the forgiveness of sins.' But the faith of the majority of Christians cannot rest on critical grounds. They may not be able to give to all the items of the Creed the exact significance of theological science. There are portions of the Creed itself which are not original or fundamental. Such clauses as 'Maker of heaven and earth,' and 'He descended into hell' were added to meet transitory conceptions in the minds of an early generation of Christians. 'That cannot be fundamental which may not be made clear to all Christians, old and young; it cannot be fundamental, which perhaps a Paul and John did not know' (p. 21). If a man believes in God as his Father and in Christ as his Redeemer, he has the root of faith from which the rest will grow. He may not understand 'eternal sonship,' and yet have faith in the Redeemer. 'All formulas which pass over the sphere of our experience are metaphorical, imperfect, and controversial' (p. 23). Yet,

¹ The preacher here attaches a note which shows how far he would go in meeting the modern doubters on some points. 'Dass obiger Satz sich auf das ''empfangen vom heiligen Geiste, geboren von der Jungfrau Maria'' bezieht, mag hier im Druck ausdrücklich bemerkt werden.

no Christian faith can be sufficient which does not believe in Christ as revealing to us the living God, and

as the Conqueror of death.

It will be seen that the preacher emphasises the subjective side of Christian faith. The personal experience of sin and salvation is more to him than the elaboration of the most venerable or critical doc-We may all be glad that German defenders of the faith are learning more to rely upon the evidential value of Christian experience. The doubts raised by historical and literary criticism may be too subtle to be removed by immediate refutation on the same lines; but the appeal to the consciousness of faith is always irresistible. Professor Loofs uses it with so much appreciation that we can understand Dr. Sanday when he speaks of him as 'an attractive theo-He has evidently drunk deeply at the best sources of the theology of the Reformation, and can express himself with the truest spiritual power and pathos. Rationalism may withstand logic and history, but is powerless before such a testimony as the following: — When I feel the power which goes out from the words, "Thy sins are forgiven thee"; when I know that His word, "I have overcome the world," is true, notwithstanding Golgotha, then I can understand and believe the Easter-tidings, and I bow the knee, with Thomas, before Him who has risen, and say, "My Lord and my God" ' (p. 24).

In the third sermon on the Holy Spirit there is much that is interesting, and some statements which might be criticised. He allows that the Spirit works in the 'Holy Catholic Church'; but the Church is not an outward and visible organisation: it is the 'fellowship of all believers.' He regrets that the idea of the visibility of the true Church 'haunts many evangelical heads.' The kernel of the older doctrine he believes to be that it is the one God who made us, has redeemed us in Jesus Christ, and sanctifies us by His Spirit. Many 'inadequate expressions in hymn-books favour misunderstanding,' and lead to Tritheism. To those who make 'Spirit' synonymous with 'Power,' he rec-

ommends the study of Force in the light of recent science. It is better to leave the inexplicable unexplained.

But the reputation of Loofs does not rest on his *Predigten* alone, though these clearly reveal his grasp of evangelical truth, and his faculty for exposition and application. His *Guide to the Study of the History of Dogma* shows that he is a learned and accurate adept in ecclesiastical history.³

This book is a marvel of comprehensive and condensed information. In one volume of 450 pages the genesis of Christian doctrines and ideas is carefully reviewed, and the critical statements of the leading divines of every age are quoted and considered. For lecturers and students in church history the book is a rich and convenient manual. For any who have been almost oppressed by the vast proportions of Harnack's Dogmengeschichte, Loofs' Leitfaden will bring timely and real assistance. We have not space to describe the book in detail, or to illustrate the theological system of the author. He is evidently a disciple of Harnack, but is sufficiently independent to inspire confidence. A passage in the preface to the second edition-which was intended to explain his relation to Harnack-does not appear in the third edition; because he thinks that every one knows his obligations to this distinguished teacher, and also the points of difference between them. Dr. Loofs, clearly, does not dread the result of an inquiry into the intellectual and religious developments which prepared the way for Christianity. He carefully surveys the progress of Gentile philosophy with that of Alexandrian and Rabbinical thought, and of all other systems which might be supposed to contribute to the formation of the doctrines of the Church. But all these together could not create the 'Personality of Jesus'; and a 'purely historical understanding of Jesus, His work, teaching, and

An earlier volume of sermons was published in 1892.

³ Leitfaden zum Studium der Dogmengeschichte, zunächst für seine Vorlesungen, von F. Loofs, Doctor und Professor der Theologie in Halle: dritte verbesserte Auflage. Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1893. Another important work is a monograph: Studien über die dem Johannes von Damaskus zugeschreibenen Parellelen, 1892.

self-consciousness, is impossible.' On some points Dr. Loofs seems disposed to yield to critical views, though we gather that he holds the canonical authority of the books of the New Testament, and entirely rejects the Tübingen speculation. His works encourage the hope that the time has come in Germany when the best results of modern inquiry and criticism are to be used in the service of a living Christianity.

HINDRANCES TO THE ACCEPTANCE OF CHRIST.

A PAPER FOR YOUNG MEN.

BY REV. PROFESSOR MARCUS DODS, D.D.

From The British Weekly (London), December 12, 1895.

The initial or radical hindrance to the acceptance of Christ is, of course, indifference to His offers. The swimmer who is floating in perfect enjoyment disregards the life-belt that is flung to him. As our Lord Himself said, "They that are whole need not a physician;" and they who think themselves whole neglect His offers. A sense of sin and a hunger for righteousness and God are requisite for the appreciation of Christ. If there is no sense of sin, no feeling of degradation in being stained, weakened, misled by our own faults, no pain or uneasiness at being separated from God in whom we live, there can be no response to Christ's offers.

MISCONCEPTIONS REGARDING HOLINESS.

The delay caused by this initial hindrance is often prolonged by a misconception regarding the holiness which Christ offers. It is conceived as a Pharisaic sanctimoniousness, a condition full of restrictions, and in which the pulse of life beats slowly and feebly. Christ throws open the gates of His kingdom, but men turn away with distaste and aversion, partly because to enter is to make a final decision, and to shut one's self

up to a limited and monotonous existence. Before doing so it is natural, especially in youth, to wish to taste life a little more variously, and to make trial of other kinds of experience. Fulness of life is a natural

and a right object of desire.

The mistake lies in the idea that fulness of life can be found anywhere else than in Christ. He has come for the express purpose of enlarging, deepening, and intensifying life-" I am come that they might have life, and might have it more abundantly." He is the Godappointed source of fulness of life, and until we accept and use Him we cannot know the strength, the hope, the liberty, the largeness of life that God designs for A kind of life you may have out of Christ, but it is as different from the life you may have in Him as an arctic winter is different from a southern summer. plant may live in a cellar, but it has a very different life if you take it out to the open sky and sunshine. Life out of Christ is life in a cellar: it is a gloomy, contracted, fruitless, dying life. A man born deaf, dumb, blind, with an imperfect brain, may be called a man, but you know how poor a thing his life is, even though he himself, never having known anything better, may not be conscious of his lamentable condition. But so long as you fail to use what God has provided for your full life, you have not that perfect manhood He means you to have. There are powers in you undeveloped, and the best uses and joys of life you miss.

Do not look, then, at fellowship with Christ as an hospital to which you may one day be driven for refuge and for succour. Do not even think of it as an accomplishment which you might be the better for, but can get along without. But understand that it is the one only means by which you can reach the highest, and become

all you were meant to be.

MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT RELIGION.

2. Another hindrance arises from the misconception which thinks of religion as concerned solely about the life to come, and as not even proposing to bring light

and strength into our present concerns. The professed secularist and the practical secularist each says to himself: I have occupations and duties now which engage all my strength; and, if there is another world, the best preparation for it I can have is to do thoroughly and with all my strength the duties of the present. Most men have felt the attraction of this position. It has a sound of manly, candid common sense, and appeals to the Anglo-Saxon within us, to our esteem for what is practical. Moreover, it is perfectly true that the best preparation for any future world is to do with all our might the duties of our present state. But, after all, the whole question remains, What are the duties of our present state? If Christ is to be trusted, our very first duty is to believe in Him. This being omitted, all energy is spent in vain. If there is a God, then it is not merely in the future, but now that we have relations to Him and duties to Him. If He be such a God as Christ revealed, a God with us in love, then plainly our whole life must be coloured and influenced by this presence. God is as much in this world as in any possible world; and if so, our whole life must be not a secular, but a godly life, a life we live well and can only live well in true and frank fellowship with God. The mind that can thus divide duties into present and future, into godless and possibly godly, wholly misconceives what human life, not to say Divine life, is.

This idea that religion is a preparation for a future world rather than a benefit here and now, a kind of sop to Cerberus, making entrance into the world of spirits easier, is a mere superstition, and has disastrous consequences. A few years ago, when Birmingham was overtaken by a sudden darkness at mid-day, and it was rumoured that the end of the world was come, some women appealed to the policeman for protection, and finding that even his powers were unequal to the emergency, they clubbed their pennies and bought a Bible. At such anile superstition we smile, but are those shrewd and clever men much wiser who all their life-time have pitied the self-denying Christian, and at last, with as true and helpless an imbecility, try to arm

themselves in a suddenly assumed religion to face the life beyond?

The truth is, Christ is as much needed for this as for any possible life. No matter at what point you touch life, whether in science, art, literature, trade, or merely in family and social relationships, you can neither do the good you ought to do nor get the utmost of good apart from Him. Few things are sadder, and yet few things are more common, than to find men who have been counted successful, lamenting that life has been spent on laboriously doing nothing. From this disastrous termination Christ saves us. To every man He opens a career. In His kingdom there is no such thing as a wasted life.

DIFFICULTIES OF BELIEF.

3. Another common hindrance is that which results from unsettled views and difficulties of belief. A young man is conscious that his opinions do not square with any confession of faith yet published in Christendom. He cannot accept all that the Bible declares to be true; the Old Testament miracles bewilder him; he is doubtful about many doctrines which are considered to be based on the New. In such a state of mind he thinks it would be hypocritical and detrimental to his character to listen to Christ's offers and respond to them.

To such persons two counsels may respectfully be given. (1) Make sure that your divergence from the traditional beliefs of Christendom is well founded. At the present time we are deluged with second-hand scepticism. Literary men, who have paid no special attention to Christian truth, and are in no sense experts, lightly take up opinions regarding the supernatural, and give them currency in magazines and newspapers. But, of course, no one who takes his religion seriously would dream of accepting the views thus disseminated, any more than he would consult such sources instead of a qualified medical man, if he were seriously ill. Literary men serve an admirable purpose in our social economy, but that purpose is not to give advice in matters of religion. And yet the doubts and diffi-

culties which bar the path of many a man among us, if traced to their origin, will be found to have arisen from these and other quite insufficient authorities. Let us then in the first place see that our doubts are real and well founded, and in the second place (2) and especially it is to be borne in mind that it is not the acceptance of certain propositions Christ requires of us, but quite another thing, personal allegiance. The question is not whether we can believe all that other people have said about Christ, nor all that they tell us it is imperative to believe, but whether we can accept Him personally as our ideal, our Redeemer, our Supreme. His one word is, Follow Me. He does not ask how much of this or that confession we have been able to believe; nor does He demand that we shall have this or that view about miracles or inspiration or the Atonement. What He does demand is that we shall give ourselves to Him.

THE NEEDED SPIRITUAL CONDITION.

4. Still another hindrance exists in a similar misconception of the moral or spiritual condition which is needful for the acceptance of Christ's offers. It is a not unnatural nor altogether unworthy idea that some serious preparation is necessary for taking a step so full of consequence. Deeper convictions are perhaps felt to be necessary, or a firmer resolve, or a more trustworthy purpose of abandoning sin, and a clearer and more final consecration to holiness. I must wait, it is often said, till I am better than I am, till I have a truer repentance, a more serious view of life, a stronger drawing to God. I am sorry I have not more feeling. more sensitiveness about my relation to God; but I do not wish to pretend I am anxious when I am not, nor to profess what I do not feel. This is a very common state of mind, because it is difficult for any man once for all to grasp the idea that Christ has been sent to deliver us from every kind of evil, and especially from every kind and stage of spiritual faultiness. Uniformly Christ offers Himself to men as they are; and necessarily. Whatever be our condition, He and He alone can remedy it. Waiting will do no good. To make ourselves more worthy of Him is a hopeless undertaking. Is it penitence you lack? But penitence of the genuine sort is only to be had at the cross. It is only in presence of the dying of Christ that a man can understand his errors and see them in some measure in the light of Divine judgment, that is, of true judg-Is it sensitiveness, pain on account of your severance from God, shame on account of the degradation of your character, real biting hunger for righteousness? These you cannot expect to have until you accept Christ. This spiritual deadness which can neither see nor feel as it ought, is the serious element in our condition, and if we could rid ourselves of this by any means of our own, we should not need a Saviour at all. The insensibility of which you are conscious, your surprising indifference to the spiritual aspect of things, your unconcern about your relation to God, all this is precisely that from which you need salvation, and from which Christ offers to save you.

If, then, any one has been delaying to accept Christ because he supposes that some preliminary process must be passed through, he should recognise that this is a mistake. What Christ offers He offers freely, and on the spot, and to all. No preparation is required. The preparation for rescue is danger; and the preparation for salvation is sin. Are you a sinner? you Christ offers Himself. He did not say, " Him that cometh unto Me with sufficient earnestness, or with a satisfactory repentance, I will in no wise cast out"; He did not say, "Him that cometh with some fair prospect of being of use in My kingdom, I will in no wise cast out." He said simply and unconditionally, "Him that cometh unto Me, I will in no wise cast out." It is His part to turn us into reliable and serviceable men. It is our part frankly and humbly to go to Him as we are, and to accept everything from Him. It is your first, immediate, and most pressing duty to believe in Him as given to you by God to be your life. "This is the work of God, that ye believe on Him

whom He hath sent."

WAITING FOR CONVERSION.

This state of mind is sometimes still further perplexed and entangled with the notion that as conversion is the work of the Spirit, we must wait until it shall please the Spirit to accomplish this work. Well-intentioned. earnest men with subtle mind are often seriously disturbed and delayed by this snare. But thus to wait for the Spirit is really to take credit for being much readier for what is good than God is. We are willing and anxious to be united to Christ, but we must wait and wait for a delaying God. This certainly is to misunderstand God and to interpose a metaphysical difficulty where there is no practical difficulty. God does not mock us by setting before us an impossible salvation. Much that is necessary in saving us is impossible to us, but we are not asked to do more than we can do. We are asked to believe in Christ's ability to make us new men, and to use the means He gives us of becoming new men. Others as unable as we have believed and have been saved. Whatever God commands us to do He gives us strength to do. Christ bade a man with a withered hand to stretch it out, to spread the dead fingers as he spread the fingers of his other hand. He bade him do what was an impossibility, but He gave him strength to do it. The man might truly have said, "I cannot," but with a higher wisdom, he obeyed. He bids you live, and in His word there is life, giving you ability to do His bidding. Or, as Christ said of His own words, "The words that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life" they carry with them power to use them.

COUNTERFEIT CHRISTIANS.

Another of the commonest snares which retard approach to Christ is the perception that the members of Christ's Church are not always exceptionally good men. Many so-called Christians are found to be slippery in pecuniary transactions, greedy of gain, full of spite, envy, and all uncharitableness. They act as a kind of deterrent on those who would, but for them, seek to

live as Christians. Many who have had the misfortune in their early years to become acquainted with this spurious kind of Christian, and have never been brought into close contact with genuine Christians, have their minds so prejudiced against the Christian religion that they never can free themselves of these prepossessions. This is unreasonable, but it does notwithstanding delay many, who if they were day by day in contact with incontestably good results of Christian faith, might themselves be Christians. Few men independently enquire into things for themselves: they allow unreasoned impressions to be made upon them by what they meet in life.

But as soon as a man does look at the matter with an unprejudiced intelligence, he perceives that in order to judge of the efficacy of Christ's salvation, he must examine those who use it, not those who merely say they do, or even think they do. Many who bear the name of Christ have as little resemblance to Him as the men who parade the streets with boards resemble the picture they advertise. The mere name of Christian or profession of faith in Christ works no charm. measure His influence only by observing the lives of those who faithfully put themselves under it. You do not judge the efficiency of a drill-sergeant by the slouching gait of the man who has indeed enrolled himself in a volunteer corps, but has never appeared at a single drill, and is shortly to have his name taken off the You do not judge of the efficacy of a foreign climate in curing disease by the dying man who has spoken much of going abroad, and professed great faith in the virtues of certain climates, but has never tried You do not condemn a system of education because the truants, dunces, and idlers are not turned out admirable scholars. It is quite as senseless to judge the religion of Christ by the conduct of men who have nothing Christian about them but the name, who could not tell you what the religion of Christ is, and who certainly have never put themselves under His influence.

But we may go further, and assert that the very

existence of these counterfeit Christians is evidence that there are genuine Christians somewhere, and that they are valuable and esteemed. In countries where there is no genuine coin, where money is not the medium of exchange, of course there is no counterfeit. The presence of what is counterfeit in religion or anything else should only have the effect of making us careful that we ourselves receive the real and not the spurious thing. But a man might as well refuse his week's wage because a fellow-workman had received a bad shilling as refuse to have anything to do with religion because he has in some cases seen it to be worthless and false. He does not refuse his week's wage on any such silly pretext, because he likes the money and knows he needs it; and if he excuses himself from accepting salvation on the score that so many churchmembers are none the better of it, it is obvious to all but himself that his real reason for declining salvation is that he does not like it or does not know his need

It will be a thousand pities if the folly, self-deception, or hypocrisy of some professed Christians should prevail to prevent or delay any of us from attaching ourselves to Christ. To accept such persons as the representatives of Christ is to pay them a tribute they little deserve. Fairness of mind, and a regard to our own best interests, should save us from accepting them as such. And independence of mind should be enough to lead us to sweep them out of our path and consider Christ for ourselves, and make trial of His influence in our own life. It is of ourselves we must at last give an account, not of others, not of the Church at large. We are individually as much bound to consider and to accept Christ as if His offers came to us only. Other men are no more obliged to do justice to these offers than you are. Though the love of Christ had never yet been appreciated, it is your part now to appreciate Though the grace and fulness of Christ had never yet been used, it is your part to use His grace to the full. The man who has hindered you by his superficial profession and inconsistent life is no more bound to be

a true Christian than you yourself are. And if you say in yourself, "But I make no profession," and think you thus sufficiently excuse yourself from all Christian living, you practise on yourself a very common, but a very shallow and unworthy deception. You escape the guilt of an unworthy profession by the guilt of making none. And really between the soldier who refuses to go into battle, and him who goes into battle but runs away, there is not so very much to choose.

Ultimately the question is, How ought I to respond to this person who makes to all men these demands and these offers? Here is One who has wholly given Himself to the interests of men, and by doing so has introduced into the world new hopes, who claims to set the world on right lines, and summons all men to aid in working out His ideas and will. Am I to refuse this summons; am I to pursue my own selfish ends, disregarding this invitation to live in and for my fellows? Here is One who is certainly the purest, the strongest, the highest, the truest who has ever crossed this earth, and this supreme Being offers to me a friendship of the closest and most enduring kind-what must I think of myself if I refuse it? What must I think of myself if I know that there is such a Person and I yet do not delight in the knowledge; if I know that it is possible for me to serve Him and I do not eagerly devote myself to that service? Is there not that within us that tells us that connection with Him is salvation, and the very spring and joy of life? No man can lightly put aside such questions. You have a duty to Christ: what is it?

THE EXPOSURE OF CARDINAL MANNING.

From The British Weekly (London), January 23, 1896.

WHO is Mr. Edmund Sheridan Purcell? Why was he chosen to write Cardinal Manning's life? These

¹ Life of Cardinal Manning, Archbishop of Westminster. By Edmund Sheridan Purcell, Member of the Roman Academy of Letters, Two vols. (Macmillan.)

be great mysteries, on the first of which a very slender ray of illumination is thrown. Mr. Purcell is a member of the Roman Academy of Letters. On the second we have at present no light, or no light at least that we should care to indicate. However highly Mr. Purcell's literary talents may be esteemed at Rome, it is safe to say they would win for him no recognition This biography is an enormous work, and we have conscientiously read every page of it. To say that throughout, from the beginning to the end, the reader is fast in the stocks of the prosiest prose would be very inadequate. When the unfortunate critic has read himself almost blind, he begins to despair of the end ever coming, of ever obtaining deliverance from the body of this death. Never once does Mr. Purcell sharpen our wits with a pungent phrase or put us in communication with the larger style of thought. say that he is not a scholar would be an extravagant There is something positively bumpcompliment. tious in his incapacity. He is quite illiterate in his style, often ungrammatical, often nearly, if not quite, unintelligible. His book positively swarms with blunders of the worst kind. We have marked over a hundred errors, many of them so gross as to prove that the writer is wholly unacquainted with the recent history of English thought, and to that extent quite incapable of writing Cardinal Manning's life. He has the detestable habit of repetition and going back which marks a bad speaker. We retrace one step for every two we advance. Clumsy summaries precede the original documents included. The narrative moves with no continuity or flow. Again and again the ground is gone over once more, and the general impression of the book, so far as it is a history, is one of the direst confusion.

On the other hand, it must be conceded that Mr. Purcell is a righteous and merciless critic, and that his biography abounds in interesting and important matter. A new style of biography, as of most things, is coming into vogue. Mr. Froude in his dealings with Carlyle was the first to set the lashion. Mr. Froude,

however, while furnishing liberally the materials most damaging to his subject, steadily endeavoured to extenuate or palliate these in his commentary. Mr. Purcell makes no such attempt. For Manning's character he has a contempt mitigated only by his admiration of what seems to him a successful and brilliant career. Whatever Manning may have been, Mr. Purcell recognises that he played a great part in affairs, that he rose to a high place in the Roman Church, that he died eminent and influential. But in going over the numerous wartares of his hero, Mr. Purcell makes it plain that he looks upon him as steadily and even passionately ambitious and quite unscrupulous. Manning had no loyalty, no friendship, no truth. He coveted power and he pursued it with the utmost tenacity. He was patient of drudgery, of repulse, of temporary failure, and in the end he grasped almost everything on which his heart was set. Of course, these propositions are not set forth in their literal nakedness, and Mr. Purcell tries at times to say a generous thing. When he does so, his pen is even more stiff and unwilling than usual.

The first volume of the biography is devoted to Manning's Anglican life, which was chequered and not upon the whole triumphant. He was first led to religious thoughts under the evangelical influence of Miss Bevan, afterwards Mrs. Mortimer. It is not safe to assert a negative about Mr. Purcell's great work, but we cannot remember that he has thought it worth mentioning that Mrs. Mortimer was the author of "The Peep of Day" and other books which have given to millions of children their first knowledge of religion. Manning's tepmer, however, from the beginning was unevangelical. Of this the reader who has perused his early sermons cannot be in doubt. Yet he hesitated very much in his following of Newman and the Tractarians. Indeed, he never was heartily one of them. His mind was set upon ecclesiastical advancement, and he obtained at an early age the archdeaconry of Chichester. He was then in favour with the Evangelicals and the Record, a journal which then exercised an unaccountable power. He incurred the suspicion of that party, however, by his approaches to Newman, while he lost Newman's confidence by forsaking him when he was under a cloud. Mr. Purcell, with his habitual candour, explains that Manning hated to be identified with a failing cause, and believed that the Tractarian movement was a hopeless one. Among his warmest friends at that time was Mr. Gladstone, many of whose letters and conversations are printed. It is interesting to read them and to note the touching futility of the statesman's attempts to guide religious thought, of his hopes of influence in that region when his political work was done, hopes not without a certain nobleness were it only on account of their persistency. It seemed for a time as it Manning would be a bishop, but he was too subtle, too crafty, and contrived at last to incur suspicion on every side. For a time as Archdeacon of Chichester he entered into the London world with great relish. He tried to obtain the preachership at Lincoln's Inn, but, though warmly supported by Mr. Gladstone, he did not succeed. At last he began to fret at the comparative obscurity of his position, and much more at the apparent hopelessness of his prospects. For long he inclined towards Rome and carried on a secret correspondence in which he made his doubts and tendencies articulate. At the same time, in public he continued to profess the utmost faith in the Church of England. Mr. Purcell very justly says that a difficult moral problem emerges, a problem that we are hardly called upon to solve. As it grew plainer that Manning would not soon succeed, and might never succeed in forcing the door of a bishopric, he made up his mind to go. He did so with a natural reluctance. He would have to abandon the place made sacred by his brief married lite. We have often been reminded in reading these chapters of Lamennais' early letters. There is in both at first sight the same dark, gloomy, hopeless view of life. A closer examination shows that Manning's melancholy was much more sentimen-He was not atraid like Lamennais. He was not

embittered. He saw what was dark and evil, but he believed there were powers within him and in league with him that could encounter it. Indeed, there is something admirable in the steady persistency of his Some natures-and perhaps Lamennais was one of them-have defeat worked into their very composition, but Manning had not. He laid his account with temporary checks and reverses. He looked at them calmly and was not unduly discouraged. The world was to him a constant challenge of opportunity, and he never desisted from the fight. In his strenuous life there were no ornaments or episodes. So far as this biography shows, he read very little. He indulged in no hobby. He made up his mind to be a great ecclesiastical power in the world, and he succeeded in his aim.

It has been said that Nature sets limits about her conscription for spiritual fields, as the State does in physical warfare. This was never admitted by Manning. He was forty-four when he entered the Church of Rome, and he set himself at once to the task before him. At first one is reminded of Lamennais leaving his books and his fields at La Chênaie, of the "inexpressible sinking of heart" with which he bade them farewell for ever. He speaks about his feeling "much human sorrow and human sadness," but he rallies quickly-"in how many ways is this life what I most desire." Without delay, but without undue haste, he set himself to win influence in the Church of Rome. At first his course was difficult. He was regarded with great dislike and made many mistakes. But he knew his own mind, and he laid a plan which was ultimately successful. He associated himself with Cardinal Wiseman and did his very utmost to win influence at Rome. Cardinal Wiseman's last years were lonely and troublous, and Manning's policy was to make himself indispensable to the old man, and in due time to succeed him as Archbishop of Westminster. ards Rome his attitude—no doubt quite sincerely was that of the most abject and fawning servility. His way of speaking about the Pope was comparable to

nothing but Llamaism. He made such extravagant assertions about the temporal power of the Papacy as almost shocked the Pope himself. He took pains also to secure an instrument in the Vatican, a certain Monsignor Talbot, of whom Mr. Purcell speaks contemptuously, but who seems to have served Manning with remarkable fidelity and skill. There was a Dr. Errington in his way. Errington was the natural successor of Wiseman, and the most tortuous and prolonged negotiations were necessary in order to get rid of his claim. That was accomplished at last, and Dr. Errington lived and died, after the storm was over, in editying submission and obedience, taking no pains to justify himself or to state his case. Wiseman lived long enough to give his astute friend time, but when the vacancy actually occurred, Manning found the opposition to him very strong. It was an opposition grounded partly on dislike of converts, but mainly on suspicion of Manning's own character. However, the thing was successfully carried through. After many mutations, fears, and doubts, Manning attained the object of his ambition and became Archbishop of Westminster.

Then came his next triumph in connection with the declaration of infallibility. He was a member of the Vatican Council, where he made it the end and aim of all his energies and labours to secure the definition of Papal intallibility. All his gifts found play in this astonishing achievement. In the Council and out of the Council he was indefatigable. He employed the influence of women, of priests, of newspapers, of politicians, and fought his opponents without rest and without scruple, triumphing, as every one knows, at the This, as his biographer says, was the culminating point in his career. His action pleased Pius IX. immensely. Manning had access to him, and declared that his pontificate was one that had reached over the whole extent of the Church with greater power than that of any other Pope in the whole succession. From Pius IX. he received a cardinal's hat, and, verily, deserved his reward. But when Leo XIII. succeeded Pius, the influence of Manning was over.

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Then came the most discreditable action in the whole of Manning's career, the most discreditable action of which we have ever read in the life of any ecclesiastic. Mr. Purcell relates the facts and says little about them, but he lets his own estimate of their significance appear plainly enough. Here the story must be told very To Newman, Manning had been steadily and briefly. bitterly hostile. This may have been partly from resentment of Newman's old opinion of him, and partly from the honest belief that Newman was not a hearty Catholic, but a deserter who could not feel happy in the victory of the alien arms, and who would, if he could, go back to the camp where he belonged. The dispute between the two men never became a mere chimney-sweeps' quarrel, but it was intense all the same. Manning broke utterly with the Church of England and his old friends in it. We do not find this passage in Mr. Purcell's biography, but we quote it from one of Manning's later books: "Every Catholic must watch with satisfaction every change, moral or political, which weakens the hold of the Church of England on the country." Cardinal Wiseman had expressed the warmest sympathy with the Church of England and his hopes that its influence would increase, and Newman kept some of his early friendships to the By Manning's action Newman was for many years thrown into the shade. He was viewed with disfavour and suspicion by Pius IX., and was denied a sphere for exercising his great gifts. When Pius IX. died, the Catholic laity of England, who had resented this neglect of their greatest priest, sent representatives to Cardinal Manning and expressed to him the desire, so widely felt, that Newman should be raised to the dignity of Cardinal. This was a great blow, and Manning bent his head and remained silent for some moments. Recovering his self-possession, he rose to the occasion and offered to write a letter to Rome giving the substance of the statements drawn up in support of this request. The letter made an impression on Leo, and an answer was written to Manning to the effect that the Pope had intimated his desire to raise Newman to the rank of Cardinal. Manning sent this to Newman's bishop, and the bishop in a letter replied: "Dr. Newman is most profoundly touched and moved by this very great mark of consideration on the part of the Sovereign Pontiff, and I am thoroughly confident that nothing stands in the way of his most grateful acceptance, except what he tells me greatly distresses him, namely, having to leave the Oratory at a critical moment of its existence, and when it is just beginning to develop new members, and the impossibility of his beginning a new life at his advanced age." Manning chose to believe that Newman had refused the Pope's offer, and caused a statement to be published that Dr. Newman had excused himself from accepting the purple. Newman wrote to the Duke of Norfolk denying this, and the Duke, not having the remotest suspicion that Cardinal Manning was the author of the report in the papers, forwarded to him Newman's letter. A paragraph was also printed in the Guardian which, although Mr. Purcell does not say so, we are quite safe in taking as having been communicated by Newman's intimate friend, Dr. Church. Manning saw that it was no use to try to keep the game up any longer, and hasted to make his explanation at the Vatican. He received the dry reply that the author was usually a better interpreter than another of his own words. It is not surprising that there was never any cordiality between Newman and Manning after that. Manning was fully convinced of the enormous evils that would occur on Newman's promotion, and he took means to prevent it, for which his biographer does not conceal his contempt, and which prove that in matters of the kind he was absolutely without scruple. The incident seems to have left a most unfavourable impression on the Pope, who considered that Manning had greatly erred in judgment and prudence and ceased to consult him. In the whole transaction Newman shines, as Mr. Purcell takes pains to show.

We have not space left, else we should have tried to show that in some respects Mr. Purcell does Manning injustice. He does not attach sufficient importance to Manning's sermons. They are too faultless, like the pictures that Mr. Ruskin criticises, "which Carlo Dolci has polished into inanity." But they have great merits, and they have, what is not to be found in this book from end to end, a sincere and highly wrought devotional feeling. Mr. Purcell comments, not very kindly, on Manning's strange reticence about his marriage and his great bereavement. Was it not right that the expression of his thoughts should be strictly impersonal? But there is indirect expression, as those know who have read in his sermons sentences in which his life is distilled, and which have behind them, at least, the weight of a large capital of feeling. later days Manning attempted to mediate between the Church of Rome and the religious public. He took a great part in temperance reform. Mr. Purcell does not sympathise with him in this, and assails him with clumsy brutality for his support of Mr. Stead. But he undoubtedly brought the Church into greater favour with the English people by asserting her power as a moral force. He had also the gift of addressing himself with a simple confidence and a fireside plainness to the democracy. Hence his life did not shrink and dwindle, but rather grew to the last. The beginning and the end of his days contain work that may endure. Certainly there is need that our religious minds should more deeply interest themselves in ecclesiastical matters, but as for the mere ecclesiastic—the waters go over his head.

THE APOSTLE PAUL.

BY THE REV. GEORGE MATHESON, D.D.

From The Outlook (New York), December 21, 1895.

Whoever has read Dr. Matheson's book, "The Spiritual Development of St. Paul," will understand the peculiar fitness of the choice of Dr. Matheson by *The Outlook* as writer of this paper in our general series. George Matheson is now about fifty-three years old, is a graduate of the University of Glasgow, has been nearly thirty years in the ministry, and for about ten years pastor of St. Bernard's

Church, Edinburgh. His scholarly attainments are the more remarkable in that his sight was lost before he entered the University. Among his best-known books (besides that named above) are "Natural Elements of Revealed Religion," "The Religious Bearings of Evolution," "The Psalmist and the Scientist," "My Aspirations," "Voices of the Spirit," and a volume of "Sacred Songs." In The Outlook for September 7th last will be found, in an English letter from the senior editor, the account of a visit to St. Bernard's, and of the impression made by Dr. Matheson as a preacher. We quote a few words from that article: "In nine years time he has made St. Bernard's Parish Church one of the famous churches of Edinburgh, and not only do men and women come from all over the city, but strangers come from afar, to hear the now famous blind preacher of Edinburgh. For he is blind-stone blind. A pathetic interest attaches to the service from the moment when he enters, led to the pulpit stairs by his attendant. Mr. Gladstone is reported to have said, 'What the audience give me in spray, I give them back in drops.' The audience can give nothing to the blind preacher, unless by some mysterious telepathic communication. He cannot know whether the church is full or empty, nor whether the congregation is attentive or listless. His inspiration must be in himself, his theme, or his God; it cannot be in his auditors."

The figures of the New Testament are representative men; each stands for some phase of the soul. Matthew is the type of conservatism, "that it might be fulfilled." Mark is the symbol of present action, "straightway he commanded." Luke is the embodiment of human sympathy. John is the loved of the ideal. Nathaniel is the child; Nicodemus is the student; Peter is the youth; Thomas is the reflective and somewhat careworn man. No portrait in this gallery

is without its special significance.

What is Paul? It seems at first sight equivalent to asking "What is Shakespeare?" It appears as if the only word which would describe him is myriad-mindedness. And yet, to my mind, the remarkable feature about Paul is not variety but unity—not the diversity of his experiences, but the one thread which connects them. If I were asked to state in a single phrase what Paul represents, I would say, "The pilgrim's progress." I would say that his life, as indicated in the historical order of his epistles, describes the normal course through which each Christian is to journey in his passage from the scene of shadows into the happy land of Beulah.

I say, "the normal course." But the point I wish to emphasize is that to Paul himself it was very abnormal. He was the initiator of that which has since become chronic and habitual. The course proposed for the Old Testament pilgrims was the very opposite of that prescribed for Paul. Theirs was a march from the desert into the promised land; Paul's was a progress from the promised land into the desert. They began with the valley, passed up to the plain, and ended on the height; he began with the height, passed down to the plain, and ended with the valley. They proceeded from law to love; he descended from love to law. They set up their ladder on the earth and tried to reach the heavens; he fixed his ladder in the

heavens and tried to reach the earth.

It was not only from the men of the Old Testament that Paul was thus distinguished; his experience was equally marked out from the original Apostles-the men of transition between the old and the new. These proceeded from the human to the divine. They gazed first on the Christ of the flesh. They followed the steps of the Son of man from the cradle to the cross; when the crown came, their pilgrimage was over. But Paul began with the crown. His first sight of the Christ was the Christ glorified. He knew the power of His resurrection before he felt the fellowship of His sufferings. His progress was a progress backward. He had begun with the light of immortality; he had to retrace his steps to take up the life of time. It was an abnormal experience, though it was to become uni-He was the first of the new régime, and for a while the only one. He says he was "born out of due time.' I understand him to mean, not that he was born too late, but that he was born too soon. He claimed to have a vision of the Christian life which was above his age, before his day, in advance of his contemporaries. He claimed to be the follower of One whose progress had been from heaven to earth, who had begun with the form of God and ended with the form of a servant, who had emptied himself step by step into sympathy with things beneath him, and paused not, rested not, until he had made the human divine. The progress of St. Paul was like that of his

Master—a progress downward.

He begins in the air—in the other world. He has been caught up to meet his Lord, and the earth disappears from his view. He sees nothing but the second advent; he hears nothing but the last trump. All perspective has vanished; the end is at the door. Christ is coming; in a little while he will be here. What is this world to any man? Before his descending shout of triumph its proudest pomps shall melt away. fore the first gaze of the man of Tarsus there floated the form of only one Christ-the Christ of resurrec-The light which smote him from heaven put out all the candles of earth. Everything below that sun became a thing of insignificance. The kingdoms of the world and the glory of them vanished like smoke. Their inhabitants became as grasshoppers, their events as water-drops. The only bells heard were the bells of the New Jerusalem, and they summoned all men to a cathedral above.

Then there came a cloud; I know not when, I know not how. I only know it was somewhere between the Thessalonians and the Galatians. In his letter to Corinth he speaks of it as a thorn; in his letter to Rome he describes it as a warfare; both are introduced as retrospects of a dark, and to some extent a surmounted, past. The cause of the cloud I cannot tell; probably it was something external. But the main point is that it was something which made Paul feel himself less ready for his change. The second advent moves further off; the world looms nearer. He finds that the light which fell upon him at Damascus was like the deluge; it had only covered the old world-not annihilated it. There were two natures within him-Saul and Paul. For the first time in his life he felt thoroughly bad. What right had he to struggle? Had he not tasted of the heavenly gift; had he not seen the Lord? Where was the blessedness he had known in Arabia? Where was the joy with which he had written to Thessalonica? Where was the exultation with which he had been taken up to the third heaven? What was this that had come to him-this flesh lusting against the spirit, this law in his members warring against the law of his mind? Was not this spiritual death? The strong soul of yesterday beat upon his breast and cried, "O wretched man that I am !"

Then came a new gleam of glory, and it came, not from the third heaven, but from the very mist into which Paul had wandered. It brought a great message to his soul. It said: Your seeming fall is a rise. You are further removed from death now than you were in your hour of immediate vision. The true sign of spiritual life is spiritual dissatisfaction. There is nothing which justifies a man like his belief in the existence of a beauty which he himself cannot reach.

Paul has come a step down his ladder, which means a step up his pilgrimage. He has come nearer to the He has passed from sight to faith-from an ideal of perfect satisfaction to an ideal which eludes him by its glory. But already another step was pre-What was that glory in Christ which had paring. hitherto eluded him? It was love. The moment Paul said, "I believe in love," he had put out his foot for a further step downward. Hitherto, however beautiful, his experience had been mainly personal. He had found rest to his own soul. But that is not the half of the Christian life. Paul's deepest Christianity was yet to He had begun with sight; his passage from the Thessalonians to the Galatians had been a passage from sight to faith; his passage from the Galatians to the Corinthians is a passage from faith to love. You say "it was a very short time in which to make such a transition." Yes; but the transitions of God's Spirit are, in their last result, almost momentary. I can wellnigh hear the very hour strike in which he passed over The man who wrote the magnificent hymn of the thirteenth chapter of 1st Corinthians has made a leap; and when he touches the ground it is no longer the old ground, but a plane higher in God's sight, because lower in the sight of man.

Can you fail to observe that from this time onward the teaching of Paul takes another channel? it becomes less personal, more humanitarian. Even his view of predestination is to my mind the result of his new breadth, not of his old narrowness. He sees that a mother's love is always predestinating love. mother foreknows that her child is about to come into the world, even before its birth, she conforms it to an image; she figures to herself what she would like it to That is, in my opinion, the metaphor which glittered before the eyes of the great Apostle when he proclaimed that the All-Father had predestinated his children "to be conformed to the image of his Son.' Divine Love, foreknowing that its children were about to be born, ere ever they had a character, ere ever they had a being, planned for them a destiny of glory, figured them in the likeness of the most beautiful thing it knew, and said within itself, "I baptize them into the name of Jesus." Nay, was not baptism into Christ's name itself simply the predestination of love-the expression in the heart of the Divine Parent of a great, an unquenchable desire that the new convert should rise to heights altogether unearthly, and attain to nothing less than the image of the Son?

Paul has now reached what he himself calls the glory of the cross. He had begun with the crown—the sight of the Christ of resurrection. He had passed from sight to faith-the vision of an ideal which was beyond him, and after which he must strive. He has now come from faith to love—the perception that others have an ideal as well as he. Has Paul now arrived at the terminus? No. He has reached the knowledge that the cross is the glory of God; but there is a step beyond even that—he must "rejoice in hope of the glory of God." Faith in Christ was the parent of love, because it was the belief in love; but Paul makes the further discovery that love is the parent of hope. He says, in so many words, that the reason why he is not ashamed to hope is that the love of God is shed abroad in his heart (Romans v. 5). He was of a spirit not naturally sanguine; I have heard him called a pessimist. In his Epistle to the Thessalonians his main hope for the world seems to have been that a divine power is keeping things from being worse; and truly he was right. But when the enthusiasm of the cross burst upon him, hope had a deeper revelation to bring. We again hear the clock strike as he passes the line. He had spoken of justification by faith; he had called love "a more excellent way;" he was now to crv. "We are saved by hope," Love was the parent of hope. No doubt the parent was greater than the child; yet the child was indispensable to the support of the parent. And, with this latest birth in the soul of Paul, there comes a widening of his horizon. There is nothing which tells such tales as a letter, and often most in the things it does not say. Already in the Epistle to the Romans we begin to catch breezes—currents of air which apprise us that there is an opening somewhere not far away. As we advance beyond the boundaries of that Epistle, the current freshens. He tells the Philippians in express terms that the purpose of God's heart was that every man in every place should bend his knee in prayer. A few miles more and we are out in the open, with the gusts of the great sea around us. As we pass from the coasts of Philippi we are in a new element—an element of breadth, I had almost said of secularism, an element which increases in strength, from the outpouring of the letter to Ephesus, until those notes of pastoral counsel which speak the last tarewell.

What is this new element in Paul? I have called it secularism; it would be more correct to call it the extension of the sacred. Hitherto, Paul had seen in Christ merely the head of a body of members. But now he began to see more. Christ was the head of the Church, but was he not also head of the State—of all principalities and powers? Was not this magnificent Roman Empire, however unconsciously to itself, already the kingdom of God? Was not Cæsar as much the servant of Christ as he was, albeit he knew it not? Was this world a secular system at all? Was the distinction between Church and State a real one? would

not the fullness of time show that all things had been "gathered together in Christ"? As he approached Rome, and as the spectacle of Roman unity swam before his eyes, he asked himself if Christ's kingdom would be less incorporative than this kingdom of man. He asked himself if this Roman unity was really the work of Cæsar, if it was not itself only a product of that divine order which had arranged thrones and principalities and powers. So asking, so thinking, Paul stepped into the world again. He came back to the haunts from which his conversion had lifted him; he claimed them for Christ. He found the land of Beulah on the earthly side. For the second time in his life he preached the things which once had been alien Very beautiful to my mind is the passage, Ephesians iii., 14 and 15, in which he declares that the idea of tamily life is modeled after the relationship of the Father in heaven. Beautiful, because I think there was a time when Paul would not have said it—a time of storm and stress below, of dazzling light above, when the radiance of the heavenly vision had blinded him to earthly ties. Beautiful, too, because it is no accidental utterance. It is the keynote of his latest song. If his morning carol is to the Christ of the heavens, his evening lay is to the Christ of the home; if he begins with love on the wing, he ends with love in the nest. All his latest notes are of home.

I cannot better conclude than by placing side by side Paul's earliest and latest ideals of Christian joy—the one from his first letter, the other almost from his last. He says to the Thessalonians, "We shall be caught up together in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air;" he says to Titus, "The grace that bringeth salvation hath appeared unto all men, teaching to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world." Do I say that at the close of his pilgrimage he has found his first experience to be untrue? No; rather for the first time has he discovered its real value. He has found that the advantage of going up is the new strength we get for coming down. The bird that at dawn sings in the uplands may be heard in the afternoon on the ledge

of an office wall; but the song on the office wall has been learned in the uplands. Moses had the vision of Nebo before coming down to the common lot of men; but the vision of Nebo helped him to come down. Paul's first revelation was the sight of immortality, but the sight of immortality gave value to the earth; and he who began with the vision of the ascending Christ was bound sooner or later to recognize the possibilities of "this present world."

THE ARMENIAN ATROCITIES.

BY PROFESSOR W. M. RAMSAY, D.C.L., LL.D.

From The British Weekly (London), January 2, 1896.

[Professor Ramsay, whose world-known researches and travels have made him exceptionally familiar with the whole problem, delivered a very important speech on the Armenian atrocities at a meeting held in Aberdeen. He has been kind enough, in response to our request, to send us the manuscript of his speech, and we print it in full, assured that it will be read with the deepest interest.—Ed. B. W.]

MOTION

That this meeting records its profound sorrow that the united efforts of the Great Powers of Europe, so far as is at present known, even after all the news of the terrible massacres at Sassoun had been confirmed by decisive evidence, have utterly failed to prevent the recurrence of deliberately planned massacres in various parts of Asiatic Turkey; and that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the British Government.

In support of this motion, which has been placed in my hands, I wish to speak in the most temperate and measured terms, and to present to you the facts strictly as they are. I venture to support the motion on three grounds: (1) on account of the long-continued oppression and the brutal treatment of the Armenians in the past; they have been enslaved for centuries; their peaceable, law-abiding spirit exposed them to the contempt of the dominant Turks and to the brutality of the

rude barbarian Kurdish tribes who dwell in the same country beside them. At last the contact with Europeans and the gradual increase of education has awakened them to realise that a certain degree of liberty and of personal safety is the fundamental right of all men, the gift of God which all men ought to have and are bound to claim. In 1820 Greece claimed from the Turks that fundamental right to personal safety; she claimed it amid the almost universal sympathy of Europe, she fought for it with the aid of volunteers from several European countries, and most of all from Great Britain; Byron, Finlay the historian, General Church, a hero of chivalry and unselfishness, with many others, gave them their life, their money, and their toil; and, when at last the power of Turkey seemed about to triumph over their small numbers, the ships of united Europe destroyed the Turkish fleet and re-created the Greek nation. The spirit of self-respect and freedom has slowly travelled eastwards. About seventy years later the same aspirations awakened in the Armenians. I grant that these aspirations pointed to revolt in the near future; I grant that these aspirations were encouraged by agitators, and that the dream of a free Armenia was beginning to take shape in the minds of Those who think that this was an unparthe people. donable crime must consider that Greece should still be enslaved to Turkey; they must consider that the north of Italy should still be subject to Austria, and Naples to the Bourbons. I think, my Lord Provost, that I may, with your full sympathy, say in this meeting that we do not think like that. And why should we deny to Armenia what we permit to Greece and to Italy? I do not represent to you the Armenians as faultless people, as angels on earth who do no wrong and are purely lovable. On the contrary, of all the many races whom I have mixed with in Turkey, there is none whom I have liked so little as the Armenians, none whose character has seemed to me in general so repellent, so selfish, so little alive to the loftier motives. so bound down in the lowest estimate of life according to the standard of money and money alone. There is

no race in Turkey amid whom I have found so little interest in my poor researches, none to whom I owe so little personal gratitude for kindness shown to a traveller in trouble, none who have so invariably treated me as a stranger sent among them only to be fleeced. sonally, I have far kinder memories of the Kurds, the least pleasing of the Mohammedan tribes of Turkey. than of the Armenians. But in the Armenians we must not expect those nobler virtues that spring only from the soil of freedom; we must remember the effects that are produced by centuries of slavery, centuries of subjection to insult and scorn, centuries in which nothing that belonged to the Armenian, neither his property, his life, his house, his person, nor his family, was sacred or safe from violence, capricious and unprovoked and irresistible. I do not mean that every Armenian suffered in those ways; but that every one lived in danger, and knew that he lived in danger, from any chance disturbance or riot. He knew, too, that in bribery of the officials lay his only chance of redress, and his best chance of escape. He knew that any mark of spirit or courage would be certain to draw down immediate punishment. Naturally and necessarily, the bravest were killed, the submissive remained in life, and all efforts were directed to acquiring money, as the one means of providing safety for self and family. As Lord Lytton said of O'Connell, you may in the Armenians

"behold all contrasts that belong
To minds abased, but passions roused, by wrong,
The blood all fervour, and the brain all guile,
The patriot's bluntness, and the bondman's wile,"

But the more we condemn in them the faults of slaves, the more we are bound to approve of their desire for the opportunity of learning the virtues of freedom. They are justly open to the charge of timidity and even of cowardice; but events have now shown to every one that there was given them for centuries the choice between cowardice and massacre, between submission and extermination. And I can give you from experience some examples of the rapid and high development of which the Armenians are capable in more favourable

circumstances. For two years, in 1881 and 1882, I saw a great deal of a young Armenian attached as interpreter and clerk to the service of Sir Charles Wilson (who was sent out in 1878 by our Government as Consul-General to inaugurate the Protectorate of Asia Minor and to guard the rights of the Christian subjects of He had been educated at Robert College in Turkey). Constantinople, that noble foundation of the American missionaries, which has done more to facilitate a safe solution of the Eastern question than all the diplomacy of all the European powers throughout this century. Under the Consul-General he was treated as a gentleman by gentlemen, as a Christian by Christians. I had two years' knowledge of him on the journey, in the camp, and in the house, in many situations and at all times; I know, and every man in the party, English. Turks, Circassians, would agree, that in every respect he fully deserved and responded to the treatment of Sir Charles Wilson; what more than that need I say? One thing only; in a riot that occurred in the large city of Sivas not long afterwards, a British officer told me that this man had shown great courage and presence of mind, the very qualities in which the Armenians are deficient. The education that teaches men self-respect also gives them moral courage and manliness. One other example. In a remote village far East, I met in 1890 a young Armenian pastor, on his round of inspection of the out-stations of the American missionaries. Meeting him accidentally and unawares in the squalid street of a wretched mud-built village, I felt as he approached the air of education and refinement and high purpose that belonged to him. He had been trained first at the College at Aintab, another of those foundations of the American missionaries, and thereafter at a college in America. It is not until one comes across incidents such as that in a dark country that one appreciates the power of education and unselfish aims and lofty ideas to ennoble the nature of man, as it were surrounding him with a light from heaven. I will say for the Armenians, in compensation for the unflattering picture I have given a few moments

ago, that the most striking examples I have known of ability to receive and assimilate and rise to the level of higher education and nobler nature, have been among Armenians; and that I believe these examples are typi-

cal of the real character of the race.

And if the Armenians under Turkish rule have shown themselves only too timid and submissive, it must always be remembered that there is an Armenian town. Zeitun, in the heart of Turkey, far beyond the limits of Armenia proper, situated among the mountains of Taurus on the west side of the Euphrates, which preserved its independence until about seventeen years ago, defended by the mountains that surround it and the courage of the Armenians that inhabit it. It was the last remnant of the once great and powerful Armenian kingdom of the Middle Ages, which in the early Turkish period, when Constantinople was struggling for existence, extended a Christian power down close to the Mediterranean sea, and one of whose princes hospitably welcomed Barbarossa and his German crusaders on their toilsome march towards the Holy Land. During eight centuries, surrounded by Turkish territory and Turkish soldiers, Zeitun maintained its freedom and its courage; and "Zeitunli" was a name of terror throughout the eastern parts of Turkey. At last, in 1878, when improved artillery could be brought to bear on the town, it was forced to submit. often mentioned in the newspapers as the centre of agitation and disaffection among the Armenians; and it is the centre of agitation because its inhabitants were free until seventeen years ago. I will tell you a tale of the capture of Zeitun, as it was told me by an English friend, who has been never friendly to the Armenians, but who is a great friend to the hero of my tale. When Zeitun was beleaguered, careful preparations were made by the large body of Turkish troops that had been brought together for the siege, to exterminate the entire population; and they were saved only by the promptness and courage of an American missionary, Mr. Christie, of Marash, the nearest large Turkish city to Zeitun. It is only in the darkness and obscurity of

remote parts of Turkey that such a massacre was then possible; now they are possible in every city of Turkey. It was only in the ignorance of the European ambassadors that such a massacre could then be carried out; now they are carried out while the ambassadors received daily, almost hourly, reports of their progress. Mr. Christie knew, and so did the Pasha of Marash, that if the facts were made public in Constantinople, the massacre would be stopped. Mr. Christie tried to telegraph, but the Pasha had forbidden the office to accept any telegram from him for the time being. There was, however, also a telegraph office at Aleppo, thirty-four hours' ride away to the south. Mr. Christie rode straight through to Aleppo, telegraphed unimpeded to Constantinople, and Zeitun was saved. Such is the tale as it has been told to me.

THE EVENTS OF LAST YEAR.

In the second place, I support this motion on the ground of the events of the last year. The Turkish method of rule has always been the same, viz., by periodical massacres to keep the Armenians in a state of terror; and recently it became clear to the Sultan that the growth of disaffection in Armenia required new massacres. I ask you to declare your opinion that such a method of governing ought no longer to be tolerated. I do not intend to describe the horrors of these massacres, or to estimate their extent. Language is too poor, description in words too weak, to draw the picture. I realise every day how difficult it is to create in imagination the events of distant lands and remote times, and how hard it is to convey to others an idea of them. Moreover, details have been given so often in the newspapers that they have grown stale by repetition, and people read them with languid interest. Five minutes of actual eve-witness would do more to impress on people what is the meaning of a massacre than any amount of description. Some time ago I might have said that a visit to the place where one of the villages that have been annihilated once stood would have been enough to show what the massacres were; but before this they are covered deep with snow. In a very short time Nature obliterates the traces of the brutality of man; and we forget as fast; and the same thing occurs soon again, as it man were unable to learn.

With regard to the facts, the testimony of the American missionaries is enough to convince me, and to convince all who have known the missionaries. I have already referred to their educational foundations, their colleges and their schools. But I have given no account of their position in the country, their knowledge of the people, the magnificent work they have done, their singleness of purpose, the good judgment with which they have abstained from all political bias and all interference with the established facts of the country (except in so far as the attempt to educate and to bring to a higher type of Christianity the Armenian people produces some change in the existing facts of the coun-Their work has been to create an educated middle class in the Eastern lands; such a class did not exist in these countries; and without such a class no free constitutional government is possible. It is these missionaries that have made Bulgaria fit to govern itself, by educating such a class of men. Politicians may say that Bulgaria was created by the Berlin Treaty, or by King Alexander; but I believe that, in a more real sense, it was Robert College, a creation of the missionaries in Constantinople, that has made Bulgaria; and it is a poetic justice that makes a graduate of that college Prime Minister of Bulgaria during the last year. I ask no better evidence than that of these missionaries; and they are the most zealous in this service for which we are met, for they have seen the massacres in the great cities such as Sivas, Cæsarea, and others. I have several times lived with them or visited them in different cities. Especially I remember the senior missionary in Cæsarea, who has had forty years' experience of the country, whom formerly you might expect to find on his rounds alike in the deepest snows of winter and the hottest sun of summer. I saw a letter published last week describing one of these massacres; the name of the writer was of course not published, but I could recognise him from his allusions to the school from the roof of which he had to look on at the murders, and to his residence in a village not far away from the city. I have tried to give a fair and unprejudiced statement of this case; and I assert with the most perfect confidence that our country at the present time seems not at all to appreciate the scale and the horror of these massacres, still less the suffering that now exists, when many thousands of people, deprived of food, of shelter, and almost of clothes, are exposed to the severity of an Armenian winter in a country that is buried in snow for months continuously. In my knowledge of history I have to go back to the fourteenth century to find anything to equal in deliberateness and extent the Armenian massacres; I have to go back to the time when the Mongol hordes of Tamerlane from Central Asia swept over the western parts of Asia and raised a pyramid of human heads beside every city they captured. The nineteenth century, with the improved organisation and weapons of civilisation, does everything on a large scale, massacres among the rest.

OUR RESPONSIBILITY.

Thirdly I ask you to support this motion, because we are more responsible for the present state of things than any other people outside of Turkey. It is we who have upheld the detestable government of Turkey, which has been as great a curse to the Mohammedan population of Asia Minor as it has been to the Christians, and which would long ago have been swept away as effete dynasties are always swept away in the East, but for the support of the European countries, and above all of England. Moreover, in 1878 Russia desired to take on her shoulders responsibility for good government in Armenian Turkey. We interfered; we prevented Russia from assuming the responsibility, and pledged ourselves to be responsible. For two years we acted up to our engagement; then we forgot it, or disowned it, in 1880; and in 1882 we even recalled all our military consuls from Asia Minor, and left the

Turkish Government to do as it chose. Step by step since then the Turks have gone on from bad to worse, and they have been encouraged by impunity to aim at last at the practical extermination of the Armenians. We, bound as we were in honour, and pledged by treaty -we, who had taken Cyprus as part of our bargain, kept firm hold of Cyprus, and forgot what we had engaged to do in return for Cyprus. We not merely did not ask about what was going on in Armenia, we actually suppressed all the reports of what was going on so far as was possible. There is nothing in British history more disgraceful to the national credit for honesty and faithfulness to promise and bargain than our conduct to Turkey and Armenia since 1880. And now we ask Russia and France to help us to fulfil what we promised to do single-handed. We ask Russia to help to set up a free or a guaranteed Armenia, to be a barrier against Russian advance, and a temptation to the Russian Armenians to seek for autonomy. We have everything to gain thereby, the Russians have everything to lose; and it is not to be wondered at that the foreign press accuses us of employing the Armenian difficulty to aid our political schemes, when we strive to induce the other countries to help us to do what we ought to have done for ourselves and what would benefit ourselves so much. There are only two ways honourably open to us now. One is to do the work ourselves, and reap the gain in the gratitude of Eastern Turkey and the limit set thereby to the expansion of Russia; but we are not prepared to do that, for there would be the greatest risk of war; it would be impossible for any rational being to leave Armenia under Turkey after interfering, and the Armenians have neither the education to govern themselves, nor the courage and skill to defend themselves against the Kurds, their neighbours. If we are not prepared to do that, the only other honourable plan is to acknowledge honestly that we undertook in 1878 more than we are prepared, or are able safely, to perform; and to ask Russia to occupy Turkish Armenia and put an end to the misgovernment (as she offered to do in 1878,

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when we stopped her). There are about 2,000,000 Armenians in Turkey, and 1,200,000 in Russia; let them be united under Russian protection, now that Britain has promised and tailed to protect them. must at some time pay for the iniquity we have wrought by our Turkish policy; and the sooner we pay, the less will be the price that we have to pay. Honesty is as binding on a nation as on an individual; let us discharge our debt to Europe and to Turkey as quick as possible. There is in this no party gain to either Liberal or Conservative. Each has been equally responsi-The one party incurred a serious responsibility in 1878, the other shamelessly disowned it and kept the proceeds of it in 1880 and 1882, and the former party neither protested properly then nor made any attempt in their subsequent long tenure of power to go back to an honest course. And surely it is time that our press should cease to speak of the Sultan defying the European Powers. Everyone from Constantinople to Paris knows that the Sultan is defying not the European Powers, but Britain alone; that he will do so with impunity until we begin to act honestly towards Europe and Turkey; that Said Pasha went forth from our Embassy because he felt that English protection was likely to be as weak in his case as it was to the young Turk. ish party when they trusted to it before and were ruined by their trust in it, and because he thought it safer to trust to the private assurances of the other Powers; and, finally, that the Armenian massacres would be stopped to-morrow, if we gave Russia satisfactory assurances to-day. And almost every one that knows anything about the mass of Armenian feeling believes that the Armenians naturally tend to drift towards Russia, and that that general tendency is prevented by the more active and able (perhaps the more prudent) minority which dreads absorption in Russia. But our first duty is to stop the Armenian massacres, and to let the majority and minority in Armenia work out their own future, if we are not willing ourselves to risk the danger of protecting them.

CURRENT THOUGHT.

Dale on Calvinism.

HASTY critics of a religious system of whose genesis and genius they know but little, would do well to weigh carefully that testimony to the worth of Calvinism as an organizing historic principle uttered a few years before his death by the late Dr. Dale, of Birmingham. He declared that "Calvinism has held too large a place in the religious history of the last three hundred years-has achieved too much for the religious life of great nations, has created too deep a loyalty in the hearts of great numbers of able, profound and learned men, to be treated with scorn and contempt." In the course of the sermon, from which these words are an extract. Dr. Dale, who was never accused of being an ardent Calvinist, although he was a candid student of history, quoted Mr. John Mor-ley's declaration that "to omit Calvin from the forces of Western evolution is to read history with one eye shut"-" compared with whom, not in capacity of intellect, but in power of giving formal shape to a world, Hobbes and Cromwell are hardly more than names writ in water." Another witness quoted by Dr. Dale is Mr. Mark Pattison, a man who ap-peared to regard Calvin with almost a personal animosity, but who was sufficiently candid and vigorous intellectually to declare regarding Calvinism: "It was a rude attempt, indeed, but then it was the first which the modern times had seen, to combine individual and equal freedom with self-imposed law; to found a society on the common endeavor after moral perfection." "The policy of Calvin was a vigorous effort to supply that which the revolutionary movement wanted, a positive education of the individual soul. The power thus generated was too expensive to be confined to Geneva. It went forth into all countries. . . . The Reformed communion, which doctrinal discussion was fast splitting up into ever multiplying sects, began to feel in this moral sympathy a new centre of union. This, and this alone, enabled the Reformation to make head against the terrible repressive forces brought to bear by Spain, the Inquisition and the Jesuits. Sparta against Persia was not such odds as Geneva against Spain. Calvinism saved Europe." "This testimony of Mr. Pattison's," Dr. Dale justly observed, "has great weight, for while the magnificent service rendered to European civilization by Calvinism is attributed by Mr. Pattison, not directly to the Calvinistic theology, but to the policy of Calvinism and its disciples of human life, this independent thinker yet recognized the fact that the polity and the discipline were built on the theology. doctrine of predestination was the foundation of everything.

"Calvinism," continued Dr. Dale, "was the inspiration of heroic French Protestantism; Calvinism suddenly raised Holland to the rank of a great European power; Calvinism breathed into Scotland a new national life; and Calvinism was the faith of English Protestants during the most splendid and glorious periods in the history of English Protestantism. The early English reformers for the most part held those doctrines on original sin and free will which were maintained by Augustine, and which involve the whole system of Calvinistic theology. The Protestant martyrs under Mary held the same doctrines. Calvinism is impressed on the articles of the English church. Whitgift, the most powerful of the Elizabethan bishops, was as Calvinistic as Cartwright, the most famous of the Eliza-

bethan Presbyterians."

Dr. Dale's vigorous sermon also contained these words of special import for Americans: "I may remind you (his English hearers) that the Pilgrim Fathers who founded the Plymouth colony and the Puritans who founded Massachusetts were very strong Calvinists, and that Calvinism remained for many generations the religious faith of New England. It still retains a power among the Congregationalists of America which it has lost among ourselves."

This estimate of the historic worth of Calvinism by one of the ablest of all Nonconformist clergymen of England deserves quotation and publicity in times when all manner of superficial estimates of Calvinism are current and popular with multitudes who little know what manner of men and faith have been in the world before them, nor how largely the faiths that have made the best history have been in the doctrines termed Calvinistic or Augustinian.—The Observer, N.Y. (Pres.).

Cardinal Manning.

"And now," says the New York Churchman (P. E.), "we have a life of Cardinal Manning, which seems to have been written chiefly with a desire to be candid, but by being candid has not only revived the odium of many passages in Manning's life, but has actually tended to obscure much, if not all, that was good, useful, and brilliant in his career. We are no admirer of Cardinal Manning; but in the name of art,

which claims that the half is better than the whole, we make a demand for the reserve of art, as well as the reserve of decency, in a writer who undertakes to uncover the face of a dead man. We presume that Wilberforce and Manning received the tribute of a biography because they were good men who accomplished in the world a more than ordinary work. As is evident, then, all that people want to know about them, and all that a biographer need tell, is the secret of that goodness, and the manner and instruments by which that work was accomplished. This, at least, is all that will profit the world in the knowing. Human touches and traits, as subservient accidents, will of course appear in such a portrait. But the idle tattle, or the merely private and personal detail, the moment of weakness, or the occasional failure in maintaining the calm, unruffled courage of unwavering right-the noting of such things may be dispensed with. . Their record only satisfies the prurient curiosity of the crowd; while the proportions assumed by a blemish, in the eyes of those who look chiefly for this feature in the character of a biographer, quite nullifies to such readers any good effect which can result to them from studying the lives of good men,"

Judaism.

THE tendency of the Liberal or Reformed Jews to swing further away from orthodox Judaism is shown in the many propositions made in recent years for the union of Jews and Christian theists. Just now the question is brought into prominence by the discussion in the Jewish press of Josephine Lazarus's book on the "Spirit of Judaism," and by the new scheme of union proposed by Dr. Kraus-

kopff, of Philadelphia. . . . There is no reason to believe that Judaism can discard its exclusiveness and yet stop short of acceptance of the Christianity of the apostles. The separateness of Judaism was due to belief in a distinct and glorious future as the fulfilment of the covenant made between God and Israel. With such a basis of belief, the Jews cannot help turning to that covenant until by its fulfilment they are released from the exclusiveness which its promises induced them to adopt. Christianity asserted that this covenant had been fulfilled in Christ, that Judaism had entered into the distinct and glorified future promised to Abra-ham, and that to continue to deny

this fulfilment was an anachronism. Yet Judaism is still looking back to an unfulfilled covenant, and to the orthodox, who refuse to believe that it has attained its promised glory, it must continue to be either a pledge of something yet to come or a failure. To accept Christianity now would be for them, as Dr. Silverman says in commenting on Rab-bi Krauskopff's scheme, "a silent admission that the Judaism, for which our ancestors have stood for over three thousand years, was after all merely a temporary matter, a convenience of opinion, to be taken up and laid down like an old cloak."-N. Y. Observer (Pres.).

LITERARY DEPARTMENT.

BOOK REVIEWS.

CONDUCTED BY REV. CHARLES R. GILLETT, LIBRARIAN OF UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND THE OLD TESTAMENT.'

THE number of such books as these is rapidly increasing, and this fact both proves and stimulates popular interest in the subject. Whether the phenomenon turns out, in the long run, to be a healthy sign, will depend on whether scholarly processes keep pace with the popularization of knowledge, and whether popular writers hold themselves rigidly in the service of scientific truth. At present patient research and unflinch-

¹ Genesis and Semitic Tradition. By John D. Davis, Ph.D., Professor of Semitic Philology and Old Testament History in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, N. J. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1894. Pp. x, 150. \$1.50.

The Bible and the Monuments.

The Primitive Hebrew Records in the Light of Modern Research. By W. St. Chad Boscawen, Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, Member of the Society of Biblical Archæology. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode. New York: E. & J. B. Young & Co, 1895. Pp. 177. \$2.00.

ing criticism are more needed in the field of Old Testament archæology than the wider spread of information

among the people is.

It is not wholly a matter for congratulation, therefore, that Mr. Boscawen has begun the issue of the series in which his volume now before us appears. has long familiarity with the monuments, and is a man of breadth and general cultivation. He has brought together many things of interest, some of the minor ones fresh; but they are so presented, under the conditions of his work, and perhaps of his habit, rather to entertain, than to convince. The thoughtful public, to say nothing of the student, has a right to look for more thoroughness of treatment, a sharper discrimination and more judicial presentation of the evidence, and much greater precision in the statement of results. With all this it must be said that his translations of cuneiform tablets are intelligent, if not always unimpeachable, and sometimes, notably in the story of the Deluge, he makes comparison easy by the use of parallel columns. The book is illustrated with reproductions of tablets, reliefs, mythological objects, and the like; but it does not mark any great advance in its class of literature. One has the feeling that so learned a writer might have been more usefully employed. The introductory chapter, on "The Hebrew and Assyrian Languages," seems superfluous, and lessens the impression of serious purpose, while the concluding chapter on "The Grave and the Future State," although its theme is attractive, is without any close relation to the rest of the book, and is, itself, premature to a degree which the author himself hardly seems to understand. The intermediate chapters treat, with considerable digressions, of "The Creation Legends." The Serpent and the Fall," "The Beginning of Civilization," and " The Deluge."

Professor Davis's book is in a different spirit. It is a sober attempt to distinguish, for intelligent readers, between the true and the false, in the apparent relation sustained by the early stories of Genesis to the traditions of other Semitic peoples than the Hebrews. It shows care, study, and at times real skill in combining and interpreting the materials. The author endeavors to test the phenomena, and to present only assured re-He questions or denies some alleged connections between the Bible and the monuments which others, including Boscawen, strongly claim; as, for example, in his discussions of the Assyrian Sabbath, and the so called "Temptation" cylinder. In general, he gives full weight to the differences as well as to the resemblances of his two sets of materials. ranks himself with the conservatives in his critical views of the Old Testament, but his conservatism is of a working kind, which makes room for critical results here and there, although the implements it employs in doing so are not always those familiar to modern critical operators. The taking of woman from the rib of man was (perhaps) not actual, but only what appeared to Adam in a vision. The Hebrew writer "did not intend to teach that Jehovah God, when He formed man, stood as a potter at the wheel and slowly shaped According to the character ascribed, Jehothe clay. vah God produced the result by act of will or by control of the forces of nature" (p. 44). "The statement that God breathed into man's nostrils the breath of life may be the language of a historian, and mean simply that God imparted life to man" (p. 42). "No testimony for or against a universal deluge is contained in the tradition, either in its Babylonian or Hebrew transmission, unless it be involved in the announced purpose of God to destroy man, whom He had created from the face of the ground, both man and beast and creeping thing and fowl of the air. Even this announcement is not testimony to a universal deluge, unless animals were distributed over all parts of the globe" (pp. 130, 131). On the other hand, Professor Davis brings no new support to the well-known but, from a critical standpoint, untenable view that the "sons of God," in Gen. vi., were the Sethites. He opposes the opinions of those whom he calls "the divisive critics" on the documentary structure of Genesis, yet he does so with moderation. "The cuneiform account does not disprove the theory that two narratives are combined in the Hebrew record of the flood, but it shows that a method employed to distinguish the documents is precarious" (p. 127). This is not the language of bitter antagonism. shows a characteristic which appears elsewhere in the book, and is hardly a token of strength—a hesitation or reluctance to decide between various possibilities, leaving the impression, occasionally, that secure results are hardly possible. Many questions, of course, cannot be decided, from lack of data. But the data sometimes warrant much greater positiveness than Professor Davis shows, and if to his patience and conscientiousness had been added more decided vigor of judgment, or at least of the judgment's expression, he would have produced a stronger, more stimulating and safer book. FRANCIS BROWN.

Union Theological Seminary.

BALFOUR'S FOUNDATIONS OF BELIEF.

This is an able book by a busy British statesman, who for five or six years was Secretary of State for Ireland under the recent Liberal ministry in Great Britain. Its interest, however, does not rest merely upon this fact, for the book itself is marked by freshness and ability. Indeed, one wonders how its author, amid all the duties of his office, and especially while wrestling with the problem of Irish Home Rule, was able to obtain time and leisure to produce a volume which possesses many features of philosophical ability and literary excellence.

To a certain extent it follows in the line of the author's previous work, entitled "A Philosophic Defence of Doubt," although it deals with questions more closely related to religion. The sub-title of the work indicates that the author intends it to serve as an introduction to the study of theology. It is not easy to say

¹ The Foundations of Belief: Being Notes introductory to the Study of Theology. By the Right Honorable Arthur James Balfour, author of a "Philosophic Defence of Doubt," etc. New York and London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1895. 12mo, pp. 366. \$2.00.

how far it will serve such an important purpose, for it cannot be decided at once whether the book is, after all, written for or against supernatural religion. While our author criticises quite severely what he calls naturalism, it can hardly be said that he vindicates the reality of the supernatural. In some respects the agnostic positions are indirectly favored, although we would no doubt do our author an injustice to rank him with the avowed agnostic.

The book is divided into tour parts. The first deals with "Some Consequences of Belief," the second with "Some Reasons for Belief," the third with "Some Causes of Belief," and the fourth makes "Some Suggestions toward a Provisional Philosophy." The fourth

part is really the most important.

The order in which the author treats the various topics discussed strikes the reader as peculiar. To expound the *consequences* of belief before he has discussed its *reasons* and *causes* seems a strange procedure. Our author virtually confesses that he chose this order intentionally, hoping thereby the better to secure more fully the interest and attention of the reader. While this may be a very worthy ambition on his part, it may also be said that he has succeeded in puzzling the reader as well as in giving him instruction in the first

part of his treatise.

In the first part, which, as we have stated, treats of some consequences of belief, naturalism in three respects is considered. As a system of thought naturalism has as its main position that we know only phenomena and the laws which connect them. This system, which is not fully described, is dealt with, first, in the sphere of ethics; secondly, in the realm of aesthetics; and, thirdly, in the domain of reason. In each case, with a good deal of acuteness, naturalism is shown to be an inadequate philosophy. Its chief defect is that it supplies no fixed factor in morals, in beauty, or in philosophy. But while our author points out in a searching manner the inherent defects of naturalism, it can scarcely be said that he does all he could to vindicate the opposite scheme. Indeed, he seems

to be overcautious in committing himself to any positive conclusions. Perhaps this excessive caution is due to an unconscious effect of his life as a statesman, called to deal with such a knotty question as Irish Home Rule. Perhaps a certain vagueness, which appears all through this discussion, is due, in part at least, to the fact that the term belief is really never defined. We are left to gather, as best we may, our author's meaning from his somewhat unsteady use of the term.

In the second part of the book some reasons for belief are given. The philosophic basis of naturalism is shown to be defective, and then the system of idealism is found to be but little better. Then the author deals with philosophy and rationalism, and with rationalistic orthodoxy. All through this part of the treatise it is not easy to catch the drift of the author's teaching. Sometimes he is dealing hard blows to the naturalistic scheme, and again he is reading a serious lecture to the traditional theologian; but what his own position is we cannot easily ascertain.

In the third part some causes of belief, are considered under two main topics. These are the "Causes of Experience" and "Authority and Reason." Here, too, our author might have helped the average reader if he had defined experience and authority. The origin of experience is found largely in authority. He uses the term authority in a wide sense, and is happy in coining a phrase to denote his meaning at this point. That phrase is "psychological climate," and in a measure it means the same thing that the term environment denotes. Our author finds the origin of experience, and so of our beliefs, largely in the psychological climate in which we are placed, and at times he seems here to be almost back on the ground of naturalism, which he has already repudiated.

In the fourth and last part of the treatise some suggestions are made toward a provisional philosophy. Six topics are here briefly discussed: First, the Groundwork; secondly, Beliefs and Formulas; thirdly, Beliefs, Formulas, and Realities; fourthly, Ultimate

Scientific Ideas; fifthly, Science and Theology; and, sixthly, Suggestions toward a Provisional Unification. These topics are all exhibited in a rather abstract way. yet much philosophic and dialectical ability and a good deal of wit appears in the whole discussion. Here our author's views, so far as he expresses any positive system, are set forth, but space forbids any

detailed exposition of these at this point.

He points out that our beliefs may be regarded from three view-points. They may be considered in the light of their practical necessity, of their philosophical proof, and of their scientific origin. He here makes some acute remarks showing why men more readily abandon a scientific than a religious belief, and why the abandonment of the former may not affect conduct, while in the latter case it will surely do so. At this point also our author criticises Herbert Spencer severely, and then turns and scolds the traditional theologians quite severely. All the while his own positive views remain to all intents and purposes under a bushel. Our author concludes his exposition with the statement of four broad principles which emerge from it, and which have to some degree the flavor of agnosticism about them.

It is not easy to make a general estimate of this book. It is written in an easy, flowing style, and is laden with much acute, almost ingenious thinking. But what is his real meaning? What is the drift, the tendency of the author? At times his subtle exposure of what he calls *naturalism* inspires one with high hopes that he will lead us to a lofty goal; but, again, when he intimates that no other system is much more complete, we grow fearful lest we may be led into the cold shades of agnosticism. What its final effect may be we cannot tell. It is a book stronger in its destructive than in its constructive parts, and we are inclined to think that few orthodox theologians will regard it as an adequate introduction to the study of theology. FRANCIS R. BEATTIE.

Louisville, Ky.

BRIEF REVIEWS.

THE aftermath from the field of the biography of Spurgeon is now being gathered in, and in some respects the rowen is better than the first crop. The book which calls forth this remark is one entitled Personal Reminiscences of Charles Haddon Spurgeon, by Rev. W. Williams, Minister of Upton Chapel, Lambeth Road. London. The book is one of considerable interest, and it deserves the welcome of those who admired the great London preacher. Mr. Williams speaks from personal acquaintance, and by reason of his own intimacy with his subject he brings us into closer touch with the springs of that noble life as we read his pages. It is a privilege to know great men and to feel the impulse of their lives and enthusiasms. Next best is to come into touch with them by the aid of another who was in living and deep sympathy with his friend. This is the privilege granted to a wide circle through the perusal of this book. (New York: Revell Co. \$1.50.)

Just about five years ago Mr. Edward L. Wilson published a volume descriptive of scenes and experiences in the lands of the Bible. That volume was a tall octavo, with large type and broad margins. Recently the same book, page for page, only of a considerably smaller size, has been issued again in duodecimo size. To all appearance the latter is a photographic reduction of the former. The type is excellent still, but the pictures have lost something of their sharpness and clearness. If we had not seen the former we should call the latter a handsome book, and such it really is. It deals with journeyings In Scripture Lands, Egypt, Arabia, and Palestine. Petra is also included, and we have excellent proof that a camera was an important part of the outfit. Some of the scenes are familiar, and all are good and instructive. The text is the counterpart of the illustrations and contains much valuable information as well as picturesque description. (New York: Scribner. \$1.50.)

It is a pleasure to welcome a volume which is at once a companion and a counterpart to Samuel Taylor Coleridge's "Table-Talk." Such a book is Amina Poeta, containing selections from his unpublished notebooks. The editorial work has been done by Ernest Hartley Coleridge, who has previously edited the "Letters." The body of the volume contains brief sentences or comments, arranged chronologically for the most part and well indexed. The preface is devoted to an account of the note-books from which the present collection was made. The story is very interesting, and we seem to see before us the thoughtful. visionary man, communing with himself, and confiding his reflections to his faithful, attentive, and retentive, as well as changeless friends. The volume deserves a place beside the "Table-Talk," where it will serve as a mine of careful and keen thought, as well as a constant incentive to thinking. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$2.50.)

New Testament Theology.

Among recent growths in theological science none is, perhaps, so remarkable as that of biblical theology. Within brief years it has almost usurped the place, in many quarters, of systematic or dogmatic theology. The press has teemed with treatises and expositions of the subject in its entire scope or in its fractional phases. Original treatises and translations have vied with one another for public recognition. The prejudice which at first existed against it has largely disappeared, and the consideration which has weighed in its favor has been due largely to the fact that it is historical rather than philosophic in its method. The extent to which it has gained public attention is indicated by the fact that the subject has begun to be popularized. Our Lord's Teaching, by Rev. James Robertson, D.D., is the title of a little volume recently added to the series of "Guild Text-Books," edited by Dr. Charteris, of Edinburgh, which is intended for the use of young people. The editor says: "No subject could be found

of higher in sest or importance as a field for Christian instruction." The book is divided into thirteen chapters, which treat of the manner and method of Jesus' teaching, and then of the principal subjects contained in the instruction of our Lord. The whole makes a very neat little book, and a valuable assistance to a systematic presentation of the teaching of the Gospels upon a number of important subjects. (New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co. 30 cents.)

SUBJECT INDEX TO THEOLOGICAL PERIODICALS.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS RECORD.

Af. M. E. R.	African M. E. Church Re- view. (Quarterly.)	Meth. R. So.	Methodist Review, South (Quarterly.)
Am Cath.Q.R	American Catholic Quar-	Miss. H. Miss. R.	Missionary Herald.
Dont ()	terly Review.		Missionary Review.
Bapt. Q.	Baptist Quarterly Review.	New Chr. Q.	New Christian Quarterly.
Bib. Sac.	Bibliotheca Sacra. (Quar- terly.)	New W.	The New World. (Quar- terly.)
Bib. W.	Biblical World.	Our D.	Our Day.
Can. M. R.	Canadian Methodist Re-	Prot. Ep. R.	Protestant Epis. Review.
	view. (Bi-monthly.)	Pre. M.	Preacher's Magazine.
Char. R.	Charities Review.	Presb. Q.	Presbyterian Quarterly.
Chr. L.	Christian Literature.		Presbyterian and Reformed
Church Q. R.	Church Quarterly Review.		Review. (Quarterly.)
Ex.	Expositor.	Ref. Q.	Reformed Quarterly Re-
Ex. T.	Expository Times.	•	view.
Hom. R.	Homiletic Review.	Sunday M.	Sunday Magazine.
Luth, C. R.	Lutheran Church Review.	Think.	The Thinker.
Luth. Q.	Lutheran Quarterly.	Treas.	The Treasury.
Meth. R.	Methodist Review. (Bi-	Yale R.	The Yale Review. (Quar-
mem. n.	monthly.)	I ale It.	terly.)

Unless otherwise specified, all references are to the February number of periodicals.

Acts xix. 39: the lawful assembly. (W. M. Ramsay) Ex. Anglican orders. Church Q.R. (Jan.).

Anglican orders, Moral aspects of the question of. (A. F. Marshall) Am.Cath.Q.R. (Jan.). Am.Cath.Q.R. (Jan.).

Archæology versus Old Testament criticism. (A. H. Sayce) Hom.R.

Armenia, Aid for. Chr.L.

Armenia; an appeal. (E. J. Dillon) Chr.L.

Armenia, Condition of. (E. J. Dillon) Chr.L.

Armenia, Wiping out of. Chr.L.

Armenian question. (W. E. Gladstone) Chr.L.

Armenia's suffering. (Canon Gore) Chr.L.

Balfour's philosophy. (St. G. Mivart) Am.Cath.Q.R. (Jan.).

Banqueting house, In the. (M. G. Pearse) Pre.M.

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Baraga, Frederick, among the Ottawas. (R. R. Elliott) Am. Cath. Q. R. (Jan.).

Bible study for Christians. (J. F. T. Hallowes) Pre. M.

Brazilian notes. (G. W. Chamberlain) Miss.R.
Bulgaria. (J. F. Clarke) Miss.H.
Catholicism in Thackeray and Dickens. (A. M. Grange) Am.Cath. Q.R. (Jan.).

Charities, Cyclopedia of. (F. B. Sanborn) Char.R. (Jan.).
Charity problems. (J. S. Lowell) Char.R. (Jan.).
Children, dependent, Rearing of. (H. Folks) Char.R. (Jan.).
China, Empress dowager of. (W. A. P. Martin) Miss.R.
China, Religious history of. (W. P. Mears) Miss.R.

Church methods and church work. (H. W. Mabie) Hom. R.

Clark, Nathaniel George. Miss. H.

Conscience, Development of, among native Christians. (H. Marzolff)

Coral Islands. (C. C. Creegan) Treas.

Deuteronomy and the higher criticism. Church Q.R. (Jan.).

Divine service, Early history of. Church Q.R. (Jan.).

Divorce, Present aspect of the controversy on. Church Q.R. (Jan.) "Economic Review": reply to Professor Stanton. Church Q.R.

Epileptics, State provision for. (W. F. Drewry) Char. R. (Jan.).

Episcopal elections. (G. Peries) Am.Cath.Q.R. (Jan.).

Pailure, Pathos of. (W. B. Carpenter) Pre.M.

Pelinski, Sigismund: hero of our day. (B. J. Clinch) Am.Cath.Q.R.

Pishermen, Instructions for. (A. McLaren) Pre. M.

Food economy, Errors in. (W. O. Atwater) Char. R. (Jan.).

Fourth gospel, Theology of the. (J. A. Cross) Ex.

Prench, Bishop, of Lahore. Church Q.R. (Jan.) Gallican churches, Date of the Epistle of the. (E. A. Abbott) Ex. Genesis, Archæological commentary on the book of. (A. H. Sayce) Ex.T

Germany, Theological thought in. (G. H. Schodde) Hom.R.

God's glory in the heavens. (C. A. Young) Hom.R. Hebrews, Epistle to the. (A. B. Bruce) Bib.W. Hymn and tune unions. (C. C. Converse) Hom.R.

Incarnation and the eucharist, Canon Gore on the. Church Q.R.

Individual cups. (W. J. Young) Hom.R.

Infantile life insurance in Europe. (C. W. Chancellor) Char. R. (Jan.). Jesus mirrored in Matthew, Mark and Luke. (A. B. Bruce) Ex. Johnson, Samuel. (T. W. Hunt) Treas. Jowett, Benjamin. Church Q.R. (Jan.). Riang-si, China. Miss.R.

Lutheran churches, Reformed and. (C. H. Small) Treas.

Mackay and Formosa, Story of. (A. T. Pierson) Miss. R.

Moses: his age and his work. (N. Schmidt) Bib.W.

Nelson and naval warfare. Church Q.R. (Jan.).

Officers. (J. Edkins) Ex. Oxford movement, Dr. Rigg on the. Church Q.R. (Jan.).

Pastoral epistles. (C. W. Votaw) Bib.W.

Paul before Agrippa. (W. H. P. Faunce) Bib.W.

- Paul, Saint, the traveller. (W. Sanday) Ex.
- 1 Peter ii. 5. (R. W. Dale) Ex.
- Political economy, Relativity of. (F. W. Howard) Am. Cath. O. R.
- Polo, Marco: explorers in the middle age. (R. Parsons) Am.Cath. Q.R. (Jan.).
- Prophecy, Outline topics in the history of Old Testament. (W. R. Harper) Bib.W.
- Prose, Poetic, versus prosaic poetry. (H. T. Henry) Am. Cath. Q.R. (Jan.).

- Clan.).

 Psalms, Theology of the. (W. T. Davison) Ex.T.

 Reformed and Lutheran churches. (C. H. Small) Treas.

 Religion, Everlasting reality of. (John Fiske) Chr.L.

 Religions, Sympathy of. (W. C. Wilkinson) Hom.R.

 Religious forces of the United States. (H. K. Carroll) Chr.L.

 Sanday, William. (J. V. Bartlett) Ex.T.

 Society, Modern theories of. (J. J. Ming) Am.Cath.Q.R. (Jan.).

 Song of songs in verse. (J. E. Fox) Ex.T.

 Spirituality, What is. (D. M. Pratt) Hom.R.

 Sunday-school, Pastor in the. (I. H. Vincent) Hom.R.

- Sunday-school, Pastor in the. (J. H. Vincent) Hom.R.

 Taolst religion. (A. T. Sibbald) Miss.R.

 Trade schools, Argument for. (J. Lee) Char.R. (Jan.).

 Turkey, missionaries in, What shall the, do? (W. A. Farnsworth)

 Miss.H.
- Tyler, Josiah. Miss. H. Treas.
- Washington's birthday. Yunnan, China, Preaching the gospel in. (F. Dymond) Miss. R.

CONTENTS OF RELIGIOUS PERIODICALS.

American Catholic Quarterly Review.

- Moral aspects of the question of
- Anglican orders. Relativity of political econo-
- Modern theories of society.
- Explorers in the Middle Age: Marco Polo.
- Balfour's philosophy.
- Episcopal elections.
- Frederick Baraga among the Ottawas.
- Hero of our day: Sigismund Felinski.
- Catholicism in Thackeray and
- Dickens. Poetic prose versus prosaic po-
- Precious stones of the Bible.

Biblical World.

- Chicago, February, 1896.
- Paul before Agrippa. Epistle to the Hebrews.
- Moses: his age and his work.
- Outline topics in the history of
- Old Testament prophecy. Pastoral epistles.

Charities Review.

- Galesburg, Ill., January, 1896.
- Argument for trade schools. State provision for epileptics.
- Charity problems. Infantile life insurance in Europe.
- Cyclopædia of charities. Why should dependent children
- be reared in families rather than in institutions?
- Errors in food economy.

Christian Literature.

New York, February, 1896.

Armenian question.
Condition of Armenia.
Armenia: an appeal.
Aid for Armenia.
Canon Gore on Armenia.
Wiping out of Armenia.
Everlasting reality of religion.
Religious forces of the United States.

Church Quarterly Review.

London, January, 1896. Anglican orders. Canon Gore on the incarnation and the eucharist. Deuteronomy and the higher criticism. Dr. Rigg on the Oxford movement. Bishop French of Lahore. Early history of divine service. Present aspect of the controversy on divorce. Benjamin Jowett. Nelson and naval warfare. Economic Review:" reply to Professor Stanton. Educational crisis.

The Expositor.

London, February, 1896.
St. Paul the traveller.
Jesus mirrored in Matthew, Mark, and Luke.
Date of the Epistle of the Gallican churches.
Spiritual house.
Lawful assembly.
Officers.

Theology of the Fourth Gospel. Expository Times.

Edinburgh, February, 1896.
Theology of the Psalms.
Archæological commentary on the Book of Genesis.
William Sanday.
Song of Songs in verse.

The Homiletic Review.

New York, February, 1896.

Archæology versus Old Testament literature.
Pastor in the Sunday-school.
Sympathy of religions.
God's glory in the heavens.
Theological thought in Germany.
Church methods and church work.
What is spirituality?
Hymn and tune unions.
Individual cups.

The Missionary Herald.

Boston, February, 1896.

Nathaniel George Clark. Josiah Tyler. What shall the missionaries in Turkey do? Bulgaria.

Missionary Beview.

New York, February, 1896.

Story of Mackay and Formosa. Religious history of China. Taoist religion.
Empress dowager of China. Development of conscience among native Christians.
Brazilian notes.
Kiang-si, China.
Preaching the Gospel in Yunnan,

Preacher's Magazine.

New York, February, 1896.

Instructions for fishermen.

New business under the old signboard.

In the banqueting house.

Bible study for Christians.

Pathos of failure.

The Treasury.

New York, February, 1896.

Coral Islands. Reformed and Lutheran churches Washington's birthday. Samuel Johnson.

NOTES.

The Roman Catholic papers fiercely attack Cardinal Man-ning's biography. The Tablet says: "In the exercise of what we suppose must be called his discretion. Mr. Purcell has printed intimately private letters which Cardinal Manning would have cut off his right hand rather than give to the light, and to the consequent inevitable misunderstanding. Persuaded that he was acting in the interests of truth, Mr. Purcell in our opinion not only violated the sanctities of life and wounded the living and wronged the dead, but has spoiled his own purpose, and in place of a biography has given us a caricature.

UNDER the title "Apocrypha Sinaitica," by Margaret Dunlop Gibson, Messrs. C. J. Clay & Sons will shortly publish two ancient Arabic versions of the Anaphora Pilati, one of them dated A.D. 799, together with a Syriac version transcribed by Mr. J. Rendel Harris; also two Arabic recensions of the "Recognitions" of Clement, one being from Sinai, and the other from the British Museum. To these will be added a story, entitled "The Preaching of Peter," also dated A.D. 799, and three little tracts concerning the two earliest Bishops of Jerusalem. These will all be accompanied by translations and illustrations.

R. H. WOODWARD COMPANY, Baltimore, Md., announce a new book, "Story of Turkey and Armenia." This book will contain a full and graphic account of the recent Armenian massacres, which have aroused the civilized world. A number of articles have been written by men of international reputation for this book, and it will be beautifully illustrat-

ed with nearly one hundred engravings, and will be sold by subscription.

MAGAZINES.

THE CENTURY for March contains: "A Personally Conducted Arrest in Constantinople," F. Hopkinson Smith; "Kennst Du?" Edmund Clarence Sted-man: "Sir George Tressady." man; "Sir George Tressady," V., Mrs. Humphry Ward; "Deso-late," Minnie Leona Upton; "Life of Napoleon Bonaparte," William M. Sloane : "Stamping out the London Slums," Edward Marshall; "On the Track of The Arkansas Traveller.' " H. C. Mercer: "John Randolph of Roanoke," Powhatan Bouldin; "The Schism," "The Repri-mand," "The Roll-Call after the Pillage," J. G. Vibert; "The Elder Dumas," Emily Crawford; "A Winter House-Party," Mrs. Burton Harrison; "The Perils of Small Talk," Allan McLane of Small Plan, Alban McLane Hamilton; "Ways and Means in Arid America," William E. Smythe; "Vanderdecken," Ben-jamin S. Parker; "Tom Grogan," F. Hopkinson Smith; "On an Author's Choice of Company,' Woodrow Wilson: "Enter the Earl of Tyne," Chester Bailey Fernald; "Our Foreign Trade," Fenton T. Newbery.

The Cosmopolitan for February contains: "Walrus Hunting in the Arctic Regions," Lewis Lindsay Dyche; "Mesmer, Animal Magnetism, and Hypnotism," Joseph Jastrow; "A Charm: a Play," Sir Walter Besant; "Butterflies," James Lane Allen; "American Artists' Association of Paris, "E. H. Wuerbel; "Some Notes about Venezuela," Thomas R. Dawley, Jr.; "Progress Toward the Age of the Horseless Carriage," T. A. DeWeese; "One

Woman's Story," Margaret Deland; "A Brief History of an Ideal Republic," Sir Robert Harton.

THE contents of HARPER'S MAGAZINE for March are: "On Snow-Shoes to the Barren Grounds, Twenty-six Hundred Miles after Musk-Oxen and Wood-Bison," Caspar W. Whitney; "Arcadian Bee-Ranching," Ninetta Eames; "Briseis," William Black; "Colonel Washington," Woodrow Wilson; "Where Woodrow Wilson; Fancy was Bred," Owen Wister; "Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc," Louis de Conte; "Jane Hubbs's Salvation," Helen Hunt-ington; "The German Struggle for Liberty," Poultney Bigelow;
"The 'Boss' of Ling-Foo," Ju-lian Ralph; "The Nerves of a War-Ship," Park Benjamin; "Money-Borrowers," Junius Henri Browne.

LIPFINCOTT'S MAGAZINE for March contains: "A Whim and a Chance," William T. Nichols; "The Horse or the Motor," Oliver McKee; "Mis' Pettigrew's Silver Tea-Set," Judith Spencer; "Household Life in Another Century," Emily Baily Stone; "Henry," Mary Stewart Cutting; "The Tall Office Building Artistically Considered," Louis H. Sullivan; "The Evolution of the Wedding-Cake," Agnes Carr Sage; "About Widows," Frances Courtenay Baylor; "A Labor Leader," Clare E. Robie; "A Little Essay on Love," Jean Wright; "The Decadent Novel," Edward Fuller.

The contents of March Scrib-Ner's are: "A History of the Last Quarter-Century in the United States," E. Benjamin Andrews; "Sentimental Tommy," J. M. Barrie; "Carnations," J. H. Connelly; "Sarasate," M. L. van Vorst; "Florentine Villas," Lee Bacon; "The Lost Child," H. C. Bunner; "The Little Field of Peace," Charles G. D. Roberts; "Miss Mary Cassatt," William Walton; "French Binders of To-day," S. T. Prideaux; "British Opinion of America," Richard Whiteing; "A Chameleon," Horace Annesley Vachell.

CHRONICLE, OBITUARY, AND CALENDAR.

COMPILED BY PROFESSOR GEORGE W. GILMORE, A.M.

CHRONICLE.

(Closes on the 15th.)

Jan. 7.—Annual Meeting of the (Episcopalian) Church Temperance Society, in New York City.

Jan. 15.—Annual Convention of the Congregational Home Missionary Association, in New York City.

Jan. 15-16.—Fourth Conference of Representatives of Foreign Missionary Boards and Societies in the United States and Canada, in New York City.

Jan. 16-19.—Ninth Annual Convention of the (Episcopalian) Church Students' Missionary Association, at Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y

Jan. 19-23.—Foreign Missionary Rally, in Cincinnati, O.

Feb. 2.-Fifteenth Anniversary

of the Foundation of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor. Feb. 12-16.—Ninth Annual National Deaconess Conference, in Minneapolis.

EPISCOPALIAN.

The Rt. Rev. Dr. Awdry (Anglican), Suffragan Bishop of Southampton, has accepted the bishopric of Osaka, Japan. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel has guaranteed the stipend.

The Rev. Alexander Charles Yarrett, D.D., has been elected (Episcopalian) bishop of the newly created diocese of Dallas, Tex.

The Rev. Thomas O'Gorman, D.D., Dean of the Divinity College of the Catholic University at Washington, has been appointed (Catholic) bishop of Sioux Falls, S. D.

EDUCATIONAL-COLLEGES.

The Rev. Rufus S. Green, D.D., has resigned the presidency of Elmira College.

The Rev. H. W. McKnight, D.D., has resigned the presidency of Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg. Professor F. S. Luther, of Trinity College, Hartford, Conn., has been elected to the presidency of Kenyon College, Gambier, O.

THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES.

January 1st Rev. Albert T. Clay, Ph.D., of South Bethlehem, Pa., instructor in Hebrew and Assyriology in the University of Pennsylvania, entered on his duties as instructor in Hebrew and Greek in the Chicago Lutheran Seminary.

The Rev. J. Ross Stevenson has been elected to a professorship in the McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago. The Ven. F. W. Taylor, D.D., Archdeacon of Springfield, has become instructor in Church Polity and Canon Law at the (Episcopalian) Western Theological Seminary.

The Norwegian Synod's (Lutheran) Theological Seminary is to be rebuilt, probably near Humboldt Park, Chicago.

OBITUARY.

Armitage, Rev. Thomas (Baptist), D.D. (Georgetown College, Ky., 1855), in Yonkers, January 20, aged 78. He was born in Yorkshire, England; emigrated to America, 1838; entered the Methodist ministry in 1835, but subsequent study led him to change his views on baptism, and he entered the

Baptist ministry, 1848; was called to the charge of the Norfolk Street Church, New York City, the same year, and remained with this charge until he retired from the ministry in 1888. He was one of the founders of the American Bible Union in 1850, and its president from 1856 to 1875. He was the

author of "Preaching, its Ideal and Inner Life," and of a "History of the Baptists."

Chambers, Rev. Talbot Wilson. (Reformed Dutch), S. T.D. (Columbia College, 1853), LL.D. (Rutgers College, 1885), in New York City, February 3, aged 77. He was a graduate of Rutgers College, 1834; studied the-ology in New Brunswick Theological Seminary and also in the seminary at Princeton; became pastor of the Second Reformed Dutch Church, Somerville, N. J., 1839; and became one of the pastors of the Collegiate Dutch Church, New York City, 1849. At the time of his death he was senior pas-He was Vedder Lecturer at New Brunswick, 1875; Chairman of Committee on Versions of the American Bible Society, and member of the Old Testament Company of the American Revision Committee. He served as a trustee of Rutgers College and of Columbia College, and was connected with the Evangelical Alliance, the Pan-Presbyterian Alliance, and other like organizations. He other like organizations. published a number of works, among them a "Companion to the Revised Version of the Old Testament.

De Forest, Rev. Henry Swift (Congregationalist), at Talladega, Ala., January 29, aged 63. He was graduated from Yale College, 1857; studied in Yale Theological Seminary, 1859-60, and in Union Theological Seminary, 1860-61, having served meanwhile as tutor in mathematics in Beloit College; was tutor in Latin in Yale College, 1861-63; was ordained at New Haven, 1863, and served as chaplain, Eleventh Connecticut Volunteers, 1863-65; was stated supply at

Des Moines, Ia., 1866-70; pastor at Council Bluffs, 1871-77; stated supply at Waterloo, Ia., 1877-80; was elected professor in Talladega College, Ala., 1880, and president of the same, 1883.

Furness, Rev. William Henry (Unitarian), D.D., in Philadelphia, January 30, aged 94. He was born in Boston, April 20, 1802; was a schoolmate of Emerson's at the Boston Latin School; graduated from Har-vard College, 1820, and from Harvard Divinity School, 1823; was called to the care of the society in Philadelphia which Dr. Priestley had organized, and was installed as pastor, 1825; remained as pastor till 1875-fifty years-when he resigned, and was some time afterward made pastor emeritus. His literary activity was great: he trans-lated Schenkel's "Character of Jesus Portrayed," also a number of German works of a notably literary character, Schiller's "Song of the Bell; he was also a hymnist of note, the hymn "Slowly by God's hand unfurled" being his; he wrote " Notes on the Four Gospels," "Jesus and His Biographers," "The History of Jesus," "Thoughts on the Life and Character of Jesus," and "The Veil Partly Lifted." He was also one of the foremost in influence of the Abolitionists, and exceedingly ardent in his espousal of that cause. He was, at the time of his death, the oldest graduate of Harvard College.

Gregg, Most Rev. Robert Samuel (Church of Ireland), D.D. (Trinity College, Dublin, 1873), at Armagh, Ireland, January 10, aged 61. He was the son of Bishop John Gregg, for many years the most popular,

though eccentric, preacher in Dublin; graduated from Trinity College, Dublin, B.A., 1857. M.A., 1860; was ordained deacon, 1857, and priest, 1858; was curate at Rathcooney, diocese of Cork; incumbent of Christ Church, Belfast, 1860; rector of Frankfield, and chaplain to his father, Bishop of Cork, 1862; removed to the living of Carrigrobane, and be-came precentor of St. Finn Barr's Cathedral, 1865; dean of Cork, 1874; elected Bishop of Ossory and Ferns, 1874; translated to the See of Cork to succeed his father, 1878; elect-ed Archbishop of Armagh, in succession to Archbishop Knox, 1893 He was known as one the most able financiers within the ranks of the clergy.

Haygood, Rev. Atticus Greene (Methodist Episcopal, South), D.D. (Emory College, Georgia, 1870), LL.D. (Southwestern University, Texas, 1884), in Oxford, Ga., January 19, aged 57. He was graduated from Emory College, Oxford, Ga., 1859; at once entered the ministry, serving as pastor and chaplain in the army, and as presiding elder till 1870; was elected editor of the Sunday-school publications of his church, 1870; became president of his Alma Mater, 1875; combined with his duties as president the editorship of the Weslevan Christian Advocate, 1878-82; was elected a bishop, 1882, but declined to leave the presidency of his college; the same year became agent of the John F. Slater Fund, serving till 1890; was elected bishop, 1890, and this time accepted. His literary activity was considerable, his most noted book, "Our Brother in Black," being accepted as one of the most noteworthy contributions to the race problem, and translated into several languages. His "Monk and the Prince," a recent effort, has received great praise.

Locke, Rev. John W. (Methodist Episcopal), D.D. (Dickinson College), in Kansas City, December 29, 1895, aged 74. He was born in Paris, Ky.; graduated from Augusta College, 1841; went immediately into the ministry, serving thus till 1852, when he was made president of Brookville College: returned to the ministry as presiding elder, 1856; became professor of mathematics in Indiana Asbury University, 1860; returned to the pastorate, 1872; was elected president of McKendree College, 1874; later he returned to the pastorate and presiding elder-He was representative in the General Conferences of 1860, 1868, 1876, 1880, 1888; was elected a member of the General Missionary Committee. He was the eighth successive minister in the family, his ancestors holding positions in the Irish Protestant Church.

Magoun, Rev. George Frederick (Congregationalist), D.D.
(Amherst, 1867), at Grinnell,
Ia., January 30, aged 74. He
was a graduate of Bowdoin
College, 1841, and studied theology at Andover and Yale
Theological Seminaries, graduating from Yale in 1845. He
entered the pastorate at Skullsburg, Wis.; removed to Galena, Ill., 1845; took charge
of a church at Davenport, 1851;
removed to Lyons, Ia., 1860;
was elected president of Iowa
College, Grinnell, and also professor of mental and moral science.

Mills, Rev. Robert Curtis (Baptist), D.D. (Brown University,

1861), in Newton Centre, Mass., January 21, aged 77. He was born in New York City; was graduated from New York Uniwersity, 1837; studied at Union Theological Seminary, 1837-40; graduated from Newton Theological Institution, 1840, and studied again at Union Seminary, New York, as resident licentiate, 1840-41; was ordained, 1842; became pastor at Colchester, Conn., 1841; called to pastorate at Chicopee Falls, Mass., 1845; succeeded Dr. Anderson as pastor of the First Church, Salem, 1848; resigned, 1876; was elected Corresponding Secretary Northern Baptist Education Society, 1879.

Neff, Rev. Jacob (Lutheran), in Spring City, Pa., January 13, aged 47. He was born in Philadelphia; studied at Hartwick Seminary, and was graduated from Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, Pa., 1869, and from the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, 1872; was ordained the same year, and took charge of Zion's Church, near Spring City, residing in the latter place; he organized a church in the town, and served both churches till 1892. when the parish divided, and he took charge of the town church. He was known as a public-spirited citizen, and served on the School Board of Spring City, of which he was treasurer at the time of his death.

Reinkens, Rt. Rev. Joseph Hubert (Old Catholic), D.D. (Munich, 1850; Leipzig, 1871), at Bonn, January 4, aged 75. He was born at Burtscheid, near Aachen; entered the University at Bonn, 1844, after a brilliant preparation in the Gymnasium; entered the Archiepis-

copal Seminary for Priests at Cologne, 1848, graduating with exceptional honor ; was ordained as priest, but returned to Bonn for further study, taking his doctorate at Munich in 1850; became privat-docent at Breslau, 1850; professor extraordinary, 1853; ordinary professor, 1857; was nominated second preacher at the Cathedral, 1852; took part in the controversies preceding the Vatican Council, producing in 1870 his " Pope and Papacy, according to the Description of Bernard of Clairvaux;" joined Döllinger and others in the Nuremberg declaration against the dogma of infallibility; persisting in his position, he was excommunicated by Bishop Förster of Breslau, 1872; immediately he was closely identified with the Old Catholic movement, and he was elected bishop by the Old Catholic priests at Cologne, and was consecrated by the Dutch Bishop Heykamp, 1873. He was known as a profound scholar, and has been called the brains of the movement of which he was so large a part. His ecclesiastical position was in no small part due to his study of the papacy in Rome in 1867-68. He had published, besides his numerous controversial works, a valuable series of patristic monographs on Clement of Alexandria, Martin of Tours, Hilary of Poitiers, Cyprian, Jerome, and Augustine's Philosophy of History. His life was so blameless that even his numerous enemies in the Roman Church could find no ground for censure, except that of insubordination and schism.

Rogers, Rev. William (Anglican), M.A., in London, January 19, aged 76. He entered

Eton, and after preparation became a student at Balliol College, Oxford; after some time spent on the Continent in travel, he entered Durham University, and there received his theological training; he was ordained in 1843, and contrary to his desires was made curate at Fulham, 1843; he was appointed to the incumbency of St. Thomas Charterhouse, 1845; this parish was one of the most difficult in London, situated in a district known as the resort of thieves and ruffians driven from other quarters; he applied himself to radical measures, and soon his parish was a network of schools, to the great betterment of morals; he was transferred to the rectorate of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, 1863; here the need was for middleclass education, and his success was as pronounced as in his former parish. He was made a member of the first London School Board, but his duties necessitated an early resignation, and till the close of his life he occupied himself with his parish duties. He was Prebendary of St. Paul's.

Talcott, Rev. Daniel Smith (Congregationalist), D.D. (Waterville College, Maine, 1853), in Bangor, Me., January 19, aged 83. He was born at Newburyport, Mass.; was graduated at Amherst College, 1831, and at Andover Theological Seminary, 1834; on the completion of his course was called on to supply a vacant professorship of Hebrew in Andover, 1833-36, teaching the largest class ever entered at that institution; became pastor at Sherborn, Mass., 1836; was called to Bangor Theological Seminary as professor of Sacred Literature, 1839; retired in 1881, since

which time he had lived at Bangor, contributing articles to numerous periodicals and to the American edition of Smith's Dictionary of the Bible.

Tyler, Rev. George Falmer (Presbyterian), D.D. (Middlebury College, Vermont, 1864), in Lansingburgh, N. Y., January 18, aged 85. He was born in Brattleboro, Vt.; was graduated from Yale College, 1836, and from Union Theological Seminary, New York, 1840, staying on as resident licentiate till 1841; was ordained, became pastor at Lowville, N. Y., 1841; took charge of the Congregational Church at Brattleboro, Vt., 1853; was stated supply of the Presbyterian Church, Lansingburgh, 1869; took a like position at Troy, N. Y., 1875; became pastor at Lansingburgh, 1882; resigned and was made pastor emeritus, 1891.

Whittlesey, Rev. Martin Kel. logg (Congregationalist), D.D. (Jacksonville College, Illinois), at Ottawa, Ill., January 15, aged 75. He was born at Stockaged 75. He was born at Stock-bridge, Mass.; was graduated from Yale College, 1844, and Yale Divinity School, 1847; was ordained, 1849, and preached in Burlington and Yellow Springs, Ill.; became pastor at Ottawa, Ill., 1849; removed to charge of a newly organized church at Alton, Ill., 1870; became superintendent of missions for Central and Southern Illinois under the American Home Missionary Society, 1872; resigned, 1878, but continued to reside at Ottawa. He was a trustee of the college at Jacksonville, Ill.

Ashenhurst, Rev. James Young (United Presbyterian), in Lucile, O., January 10, aged 77.

- Davis, Rev. J. B (Lutheran), D.D., at Salem, Va., January 3, aged 76.
- Edleston, Rev. Joseph (Anglican), LL.H. (Cambridge), in Cambridge, England, aged 80.
- Elleston, Rev. (Anglican), LL.D. (Cambridge, 1863), in Cambridge, England, December 23.
- Goodman, Rev. (Irish Protestant), at Skibbereen, Ireland, January 18. Mr. Goodman was professor of Celtic in Trinity College, Dublin, and canon and rural dean of the diocese of Ross.
- Goodwin, Rev. B. A. (Roman Catholic), in Ellenville, January 17.
- Husted, Rev. John B. (Methodist Episcopal), in Watertown, Mass., January 8, aged 92. Mr. Husted was the Nestor of New England Methodism.
- Junger, Rt. Rev. Ægidius (Roman Catholic), bishop of Nesually, Wash., at Vancouver, Wash., December 27, aged 63.
- Kellogg, Rev. Samuel (Presbyterian), in Mt. Pleasant, N. J., January 14, aged 88.
- Meignan, William Renato (Roman Catholic, cardinal), at Tours, France, January 20, aged 79.
- Mitchell, Rev. George G. (Pres-

- byterian), in Indianapolis, January 5, aged 58.
- Morell, Rev. Charles (Irish Presbyterian), D.D., in Dungarvan, Ireland, January 20, aged 77.
- Potter, Rev. Edmund S (Congregationalist), at Malden, January 16, aged 82.
- Reid, Rev. William (Canadian Presbyterian), D.D., in Toronto, January 19, aged 80.
- Schimpf, Rev. Matthias (German Evangelical Lutheran), in Frankford, Philadelphia, January 13, aged 58.
- Sigurdson, Rev. Thomas O. (Lutheran), Ph.D., at Park River, N. D., December 27, 1895.
- Stowe, Rev. William P. (Methodist Episcopal), D.D., in Chicago, January 4.
- Warr, Rev. George Winter (Anglican), M.A., at Childwall, near Liverpool, England, December 29, aged 90. Mr. Warr was honorary canon of Chester, and rural dean of Liverpool North.
- Wightman, Rev. Charles Leopold (Anglican), in Shrewsbury, England, January 16, aged 80. He was prebendary of Eccleshall in Lichfield Cathedral.
- Willson, Rev. Robert E. (Presbyterian), in New York City, January 2, aged 89.

CALENDAR.

[The compiler will welcome notices of meetings of general importance and interest, provided such notices reach him before the 10th of the month prior to that in which the meetings are to take place. Exact dates and names of places, when and where the meetings are to be held, are desired.]

- Mar. 4.—Annual Meeting of the Tuskegee Negro Conference, Tuskegee, Ala.
- Apr. 21-23.—Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Woman's Baptist Foreign Missionary Society of the West, in Chicago.

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